VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE

A REVIEW OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LIFE AND LANGUAGE

Editors-in-chief

CHRISTINE MOHRMANN
Nimeguen/Amsterdam

G. QUISPEL
Utrecht

W. C. v. UNNIK
Utrecht

J. H. WASZINK
Leyden

Associate Editors

W. DEN BOER
Leyden

J. W. PH. BORLEFFS
The Hague

A. BOULANGER
Paris

P. COURCELLE
Paris

W. JAEGER
Cambridge (Mass.)

H. H. JANSSEN
Nimeguen

M. McGUIRE
Washington

H. I. MARROU
Paris

F. G. VAN DER MEER
Nimeguen

H. F. MULLER
New York

A. D. NOCK
Cambridge (Mass.)

H. CH. PUECH
Paris

A. SIZOO
Amsterdam

A. WIFSTRAND
Lund

VOLUME XI

1957

NORTH-HOLLAND PUBLISHING COMPANY

AMSTERDAM (C.)

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

I. ARTICLES

Page

BARTELINK, G. J. M.: l'Empereur Julien et le vocabulaire chrétien 37
BERNARDI, JEAN: A propos des ossements de la niche 1 152
COLEIRO, E.: St. Jerome's Lives of the Hermits 161
DANIÉLOU, J.: l'Etoile de Jacob et la mission chrétienne à Damas 121
GRANT, ROBERT M.: Notes on Gnosis. 145
KUIJPER, D.: Ad Rust. Help. Benef. 110 et 114 111
MOHRMANN, CHRISTINE: Linguistic Problems in the Early Christian Church 11
NAUTIN, P.: Notes critiques sur Théophile d'Antioche ad Autolycum Lib. II 212
QUISPEL, G.: Das Hebräerevangelium im Gnostischen Evangelium nach Maria 139
QUISPEL, G.: The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament . . . 189
SHIEL, JAMES: Boethius and Andronicus of Rhodes 179
STRAATEN, MODESTUS VAN: Thesaurus Linguae Augustinianae . . 49
TREU, KURT: Ein Fragment der Apostolischen Konstitutionen in Erewan 208
VALK, H. L. M. VAN DER: On the Edition of Books in Antiquity . . 1
WILLOUGHBY, HAROLD R.: The Religious Import of the Tushingham Plaque 57
WILSON, R. McL.: Gnostic Origins Again 93
WYTZES, J.: The Twofold Way; Platonic Influences in the Work of Clement of Alexandria 226

II. REVIEWS

Aurelius Augustinus. Schriften gegen die Semipelagianer lateinisch-deutsch. Gnade und freier Wille. Zurechtweisung und Gnade. Übertragen und erläutert von P. Dr. Sebastian Kopp. *Die Vorherbestimmung der Heiligen. Die Gabe der Beharrlichkeit.* Übertragen und erläutert von P. Dr. A. Zumkeller (J. H. Waszink) 52
CULLMANN, O.: *Der Staat im Neuen Testament* (W. den Boer) 53
EUSEBIUS' Werke VII: *Die Chronik des Hieronymus.* Herausgegeben und in zweiter Auflage bearbeitet im Auftrage der Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin von R. Helm (W. den Boer) 117
GREGORII NAZIANZENI *ΣΥΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΒΙΩΝ*. Carmen edidit, apparatu critico munivit, quaestiones peculiares adiecit Henricus Martinus Wehrhahn (J. Wytzes) 250
HOUSSIAU, Albert: *La christologie de saint Irénée* (Robert M. Grant). 246

Page

MOORSEL, G. VAN: *The Mysteries of Hermes Trismegistus* (Robert M. Grant) 246

MOULE, C. F. D.: *The Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon* (Robert M. Grant) 250

MUSURILLO, H. A.: *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* (Acta Alexandrinorum) (W. den Boer) 247

ORIGEN, *Prayer — Exhortation to Martyrdom*, translated and annotated by John J. O'Meara (W. den Boer) 51

PFISTER, F.: *Alexander der Grosse in den Offenbarungen der Griechen, Juden, Mohammedaner und Christen* (W. den Boer) 54

Rufinus, A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed. Translated and annotated by J. N. D. KELLY (J. H. Waszink) 186

STENDAHL, KRISTER: *The School of St. Matthew* (G. Sevenster) . . 113

STRACK, H. L., BILLERBECK, P.: *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Bd. V. *Rabbinischer Index*, herausgegeben von Joachim Jeremias, bearbeitet von Kurt Adolph (W. C. van Unnik) 55

The Septuagint Bible. The Oldest Version of the Old Testament in the Translation of Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Continental Congress of the United States of America, 1774–1789, as edited, revised and enlarged by C. A. Muses (J. H. Waszink) 114

TJÄDER, JAN-OLOF: *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit* 445–700 (B. A. van Groningen) 115

Books received 120 187 252

ON THE EDITION OF BOOKS IN ANTIQUITY

BY

H. L. M. VAN DER VALK

Prof. H. I. Marrou has recently discussed the technique of editing.[1] Though the testimonies, adduced by him, mainly concern the Christian Fathers, he also speaks about the editions of classical authors (Marrou 1.1.222-4). I should like to make a few observations here, because Prof. M. hopes that the testimonies of the classical authors will be studied anew in the light of the evidence adduced by him. If I understand Prof. M. well, he is inclined to think that the part played by the bibliopola in the publication of a book, was negligible. He rather supposes that the author followed other ways and chose an influential friend as a depositary of the principal copy, from which other copies might be made. This view seems, in fact, to be confirmed by the testimony of Augustine who had a book published by means of the deacon Firmus (cf. Marrou .11.). Since this testimony is incontrovertible, I can understand Prof. M. to have been influenced by it. However, I do not think that it can be generalised.

In this connection, I draw attention to Martial, whose enuncia tions, if properly explained, are convincing. As we know, the books of Martial's Epigrams were originally published successively and separately. We may begin with the first book, where we may single uot the opening poem (I 2) and the last but one (I 117). In I 2 Martial expressly informs the reader that the book can be got from a book-seller Secundus, [2] while also in I 117 Martial refers an acquaintance Lupercus, who tries to borrow the book, to a book-seller, Atrectus. We see that in two important places of the book, viz. the beginning and the end, Martial draws the attention to the librarian, let us say the publisher. In the opening poem, he recommends the edition in membrana, which is the popular and

[1] Vigil. Christ. 3 (1949), 208-242.

[2] Cf. L. Friedlaender, Martialis, Epigrammaton Libri (Leipzig 1886), commentary on I 2 and Preface p. 16. Cf. also H. Izaac, Martial, Épigrammes (Paris 1930) T. II p. 195 n 3.

less costly one. In I 117 he has in view the de luxe edition which, apparently, was sold in a different book-shop. [3] We learn from Martial that the public at large apparently contented itself with a less costly edition in membrana, [4] whereas only wealthier persons bought a regularly got-up edition (clad in purple, etc.). We also can understand the disposition of the poems, for in the opening poem (I 2) Mart. wishes to attract the attention of the public at large and, therefore, recommends the edition in membrana. As to the more distinguished and wealthier citizens Mart. was more reserved and cautious. He did not refer them directly to a book-shop, but by inventing the story of the avaricious acquaintance who tries to get a book for nothing, he gets the opportunity to mention the shop, where the de luxe-editions of his book were to be got. If, however, Mart. in this way informs his readers, we cannot but assume that his books were published by means of bibliopolae [5]) and that he himself profited by it. [6] The same fact is clearly indicated by the two books of the Xenia (XIII and XIV). In XIII, 3 Mart. himself indicates the price of the book [7] and says that it is to be

[3] The librarian who sold the popular edition is called a libertus (I 2, 7). Atrectus (I 117) may have been a libertus, too, but on purpose Martial does not mention this condition, because it would have been less suitable in view of the de luxe edition.

[4] In Book XIV among the presents of the Saturnalia books in membrana are mentioned again. Friedlaender pp. 296 and 299 ff. wrongly thinks that the membranae were the more costly presents, whereas Birt, Das antike Buchwesen (Leipzig 1882) had already offered the correct explanation. We may refer the reader to XIV, 7 and 8, where successively Pugillares membranei and Vitelliani are mentioned. It is not to be doubted that the Vitelliani were the more costly ones. This is proved by a comparison of II 6, 6. Martial says that his distinguished friend Severus previously was much interested in his poems and used "rapta exscribere, sed Vitellianis" "and that on (costly) Vitellius-paper". — For the use of "sed" meaning "and that", cf. Friedlaender on Mart. I 117, 7. — Thus in XIV 7 the pugillares membranei denote the less costly present. In the same way XIV 183 and 184 the "Homeri Batrachomachia" is the costly present, the "Homerus in pugillaribus membraneis" the less costly one.

[5] In I 113 another book-seller who sold the books of Martial's juvenile period is mentioned.

[6] We do not know, if Martial was paid beforehand, or whether he afterwards got a certain amount in proportion to the books which had been sold.

[7] Martial mentions two prices, two or four sesterces. Apparently the

got from the bibliopola Tryphon. The subject-matter itself of the books points in the same way. For if Martial offered to the public a book in which the different presents, given at the Saturnalia, were provided with special poems, he has done so not for poetical reasons but in order to provide the public with poems of which they themselves could make use. Thus already Friedlaender (l.l. p. 269, on XIII 1) rightly supposed that the book was especially ordered by Trypho. We may say that is was obviously written and published for commercial reasons.

Readers will observe that in the other books by Martial, no poems which refer the reader to librarians are to be found. [8] The reasons for this can be easily adduced. First of all Martial's social position may have improved, so that he no longer wished to resort openly to this device. Further, in his first book he had introduced himself to the public and, as we know, had become famous. Thus readers could be supposed to know that his books were to be found in the ordinary book-shops and if they did not know, they could get information, while consulting the first book.

One of the points of Prof. Marrou's thesis was that Augustine gave the first and principal copy of his book to his friend, the deacon Firmus, who had to see to the publication. It is interesting to investigate Martial's attitude, for he, too, in his books, directs himself to his friends and protectors. I refer to III. 1-5, where Martial being temporarily in France, avails himself of the opportunity to recommend his book to influential friends who, in his absence, will be patrons to it. Just as in Book I he directs himself at the beginning to the public and indicates the book-shop, so here he addresses persons of some note and invites their attention and interest for his book. The disposition of the poems is very artful. On both occasions (III 1 and III 4) Martial first of all gives an introductory poem, in which he speaks about his whereabouts and situation (stay in France). Then follow the actual dedicatory poems (III 2 and III 5). The first is directed to Faustinus, a wealthy

price varied in accordance with the outward appearance of the book (popular or de luxe edition).

[8] IV 72 mentions the bibliopola Tryphon, but his shop is not indicated. Moreover, the poem is not placed at an important point of the book, such as the beginning or the end.

citizen [9] who prides himself on being a poet. The second is directed to Iulius Martialis, one of his most intimate friends. [10] No word is said about a bibliopola. The poet's aim is, in my opinion, clear. He wishes to honour two persons by means of a special mention and a request for their protection. Apparently by his two other books Martial had acquired renown so that now he dares to direct himself to persons of some note without fear of offending them. [11] Faustinus is represented as a competent judge of poetical matters; this "colleague" is asked as it were to give his "placet" to the book. [12] In all probability Martial offers to the wealthy Faustinus the honour of a special dedication in order to get some gratification from him. Further, he directs himself in the dedication to his friend Iulius Martialis. This is explainable, because Mart. himself was in France and thus the book could be represented as having resort to the abode of an intimate friend of the author who would welcome the stranger. We can see that no hint whatever is given of either Faustinus (III 3) or Iulius Mart. (III 5) having to take care in any way of the edition of the book. It is clear that neither of these persons was concerned with the publication; the dedication is only meant as an honour.

The same can be seen in Book V, which is directed to Domitianus, as can be learnt from the opening poems V 1, [13] 2, 3, 5 and 6. For this reason, as he expressly states himself (V 2) he has banned more frivolous and lascivious poems from the collection. [14] We must also

---

[9] Cf. Friedlaender on I, 25, where the testimonies are mentioned.

[10] Cf. Friedlaender on I, 15, for the testimonies.

[11] In the second book a preface to a friend Decianus occurs. In all probability, the latter was a friend of modest rank.

[12] Apparently Martial is joking, when he says that only if Faustinus approves of the book, it will be published. This is a specimen of his well-known self-depreciation. We know from Catullus I, 2 that the book was provided with umbilicus, etc. before it was sent to the friend to whom it was recommended.

[13] The dedication to the Emperor explains why Martial in this poem makes use of learned mythological allusions (Palladia Alba, Caieta as Aeneae nutrix, etc.). Apparently he wishes to apply the solemn epic style, as a way of speaking which is more suitable for the Emperor. In reality the use of these devices, which are not in conformity with his talents, is the cause that he has given here one of his worst poems.

[14] This is the reason why Book V is one of the least successful books of

consider one of the final poems (V 80) in connection with this dedication to the Emperor. As we observed already when discussing Book I, Martial likes to place at the beginning or (and) at the end of his books, poems which concern the publication of the book in question. Thus in one of the final poems of Book IV (IV 85) he addresses the critic Apollinaris, who is requested to give a judgement on this book (cf. the same subject in III 2). In the same way in Book V the poems 1, 2 and 3 are directed to Domitianus, 5 and 6 to his ministers. At the end of the book (V 80) the poet invites the criticism and judgement of two critics. One of them, namely Severus, a son of Silius Italicus, is known to us. [15] The choice of Severus is explainable. He was interested in literature and even seems to have been a poet himself, though his merits in this domain have perhaps been as small as those of Faustinus. Therefore, Martial can represent him as a competent judge of these matters. Far more important was the fact that Severus belonged to the most distinguished Roman families and fulfilled the highest posts. Since Martial was acquainted with the family of Silius Italicus, he was enabled to address a person of distinction in this book which was directed to the Emperor. Thus the critic whose aid was called in would not appear to be unsuitable in the eyes of the Emperor. If we pay attention to this fact, we can also ascertain, I think, who was the other critic, Secundus (V 80, 7 and 13), to whom Martialis directs himself. Already Friedlander observed that either Caecilius Secundus or the younger Pliny was meant. I do not think that the decision is doubtful. Caecilius Secundus held a military command; he was a friend of Martial and even had the latter's picture sent to him. [15a] There is no indication that he was a person of distinction. Martial addresses him as Caecilius Secundus, whereas in V 80 he only speaks of Secundus. Moreover, the Severus of V 80 was no intimate friend of Martial, as Caecilius Secundus was. For whereas Martial addresses Severus as "meus Severus", he is very reserved

---

Martialis. The poet was not free and too much restricted by the regard for the Emperor.

[15] For Severus, cf. Martialis II, 6, 3 and the testimonies offered by Friedlaender, Comm.

[15a] Already Mommsen, Hermes 3 (1869) p. 79 n I observed that this Caecilius cannot be identified with the younger Pliny.

with respect to Secundus. He even fears to be impudent or troublesome in calling in the latter's aid (cf. V 80, 7 "sed numquid sumus improbi?" Are we impudent?). Though the younger Pliny was one of Martial's protectors at the end of the latter's career (cf. Mart. X 19), at the moment when V 80 was made, this relation had certainly not been established as yet. The Secundus of V 80 is called "disertus" (1.6). We know that already during Domitianus' reign the younger Pliny was known for his forensic activity and had even then a brilliant career. [16] All the indications of the poem tend to show that the younger Pliny is meant. Secundus is a person of great distinction, who stands on an equal footing with Severus. He is known for his eloquence and he is also interested in poetry and in the criticism of poems. We know from the letters of the younger Pliny that he was in fact interested in these things.

Thus we see that Martial expressly directed himself to two representatives of the highest families, and persons, too, who fulfilled the highest official functions, because he addressed this book to Domitianus. The passage is interesting, since it shows the influence of Pliny already during Domitianus' reign. It is interesting, too, in respect of his relation to the Emperor, for Pliny cannot have been suspect or undesirable to Domitianus; otherwise Martial certainly would not have mentioned him precisely in this book. We again see in this book that with Martial the beginning and the end of a book are often concerned with its publication; but, at the same time, we see that the friends or protectors whom the poet addresses, cannot have been persons who cared for the publication of the book, as was the case with Augustine. Domitianus or his ministers of course were not concerned with the publication; the only thing which the poet asks for, is a modest place in their library (Mart. V, 5, 5). Neiter can this office have been expected by Martial of the two critics of V, 80; their position was too high, as can be easily seen from the servile attitude which Mart. exhibits in this poem. Accordingly the passages, quoted from Martial, clearly show that books were published by the bibliopola. The same thing appears from Quintilianus' Preface to his Institutio Oratoria. In it he addresses the bibliopola Trypho, known to us from Martial,

[16] Cf. Mommsen l.l. pp. 79 ff.

and especially asks him to see to it that his books are edited with the greatest accuracy. [17]

The above-named examples are not isolated ones, but rather, in my opinion, reflect a general practice. Prof. Marrou (1.1.223 n 58) has adduced Cicero's speech for Q. Ligarius, Cic. ad Att. XIII 12, 2 "Ligarianam praeclare vendidisti".

It is perfectly true, as Prof. M. observes, that Cicero's words must not be explained as indicating the price that the speech fetched with the bibliopola. In fact, it is true that his words have a metaphorical sense here. Nevertheless every reader of Cicero's letters knows that he often expressly makes use of veiled information, lest his intentions written down in the letter, should be divulgated to others. Therefore, he often makes use of hints which seemingly have a literal meaning, but in reality have another sense. This holds good for the passage in question. When Cicero writes to Atticus, who, as we know, was involved in the publication and divulgation of his books, his words have a metaphorical sense; but to the uninformed reader they are meant to have a plain literal sense, viz. that Atticus had got a high price for the speech. We cannot but state that, as this passage shows, Atticus published Cicero's works and sold them, which is in complete agreement with our information about Atticus. [18]

As regards Augustine's testimony, adduced by Prof. M., we must make allowance for the special conditions in which the latter was placed. First of all we must pay attention to the difference in social

---

[17] "Et in manus hominum quam emendatissimi veniant". We know e.g. from Martial that soon corruptions found their way into the text through the fault of the scribes. Sometimes, for special friends, the author himself corrected the faults in the copies, cf. Mart. VII, 11 and VII, 17. We can understand that especially Martial's readers complained of corruptions, because Martial's poems are often difficult to understand and thus a slight corruption might make the whole poem unintelligible.

[18] Marrou 223 n. 56 quotes with approval Clift who thinks that it was Atticus' main concern to procure good texts from which new copies could be made. In doing so we confound Atticus' activities with those of the Alexandrian or other ancient critics. The critics in fact aimed at procuring reliable texts. However, Atticus, a Roman eques, first of all had commercial interests. In this connection, it was his interest, too, to have reliable editions. Therefore, the *'Αττικιανὰ ἀντίγραφα* received special mention in antiquity.

position between Augustine and Martial. Augustine was an influential bishop who did not need the money which might be gained from a publication by means of the bibliopola. Further he was a member of an hierarchical organisation which by its structure offered excellent opportunities for the divulgation of a book without having recourse to the aid of other institutions. [19] Moreover, the works of Christian authors were particularly liable to falsifications by the insertion of heretical doctrines, a manipulation which is especially known to us from Hieronymus' letters. Therefore, they had to take special precautions and thus I can understand that especially for the last reason they did not have recourse to a bibliopola, whose interests were of course commercial and who might thus be induced for the sake of money to have interpolated their writings. Further we must take account of the fact that poets, as we learn among others from Martial, and authors who wrote on popular subjects, were likely to attract the interest of the public and thus the bibliopolae were willing to publish their works. On the other hand, authors who wrote on abstract subjects as for instance Plotinus will certainly not have evoked the interest of the public. Therefore, we may expect the writings of the latter to have been originally divulged in the circles of his friends and disciples, a fact which we can learn from Longinus' epistle to Porphyry (Porph. Vit. Plot. 19). [20] The same might hold good for Augustine's abstract theological treatises. [21] Only we must be careful not to make generalisations and to think that a practice which may have been caused by special circumstances, was the usual one in antiquity.

---

[19] We may compare the practice of a communist author in a non-communist country. When he publishes a book, we may expect him to make use of the party-organs and of the publisher of the party-paper.

[20] However, we must not overrate this point. From Epict. Diatr. I, 4, 16 we learn that a book of Chrysippus was available for five denaries, the same price for which a book of Martial might be had, cf. Mart. I, 117, 17.

[21] For popular Christian writings such as the lives of the saints other conditions may have prevailed. I refer to the example of the Vita Martini by Sulpicius Severus, mentioned by Marrou l.l. p. 213. Sulp. Sev. speaks of "librarii exultantes quod nihil ab his quaestuosius haberetur". Though it is perfectly true that "librarius" often has the meaning of "copyist", here the bibliopolae are no doubt meant. Of course they were interested in the book, because it concerned a popular subject.

Appendix

Among the introductory poems of Martial, Book III, poem 3 has in antiquity and in modern times given special offence. It is omitted by a number of mss. and has been cancelled by modern editors. [22] The fact is understandable, for, as we observed above, the other opening poems of Book III viz. 1, 2, 4 and 5 have the function of introductory poems and are directed to friends or protectors of Martial, whereas III 3 has quite a different character and thus seems to be inconsistent with the other introductory poems. In it a lady is ridiculed who has a fair face but an ugly body. Both reasons, the weak attestation and the inconsistency of the poem with the context have induced modern critics to athetize it. However, I am convinced that they are wrong. First of all the weak attestation of a poem or line in the mss. does not a priori prove its inauthenticity. Ancient critics, for the same or other reasons as modern critics, could take offence to a line and, therefore, they simply omitted it from their text. The study of ancient textual criticism furnishes undeniable proofs of this practice. [13] Editors of Martial who are not accustomed to this practice, are imposed by the testimony of the mss. However, they must take account of the above-named facts. As for the contents of the poem, we must take into consideration that Martial's poems were mostly destined for the Saturnalia. Thus we can expect that they should display an exuberant mood and that the poet should like to ridicule persons. Nevertheless, one would not have expected a poem like III 3 among the more dignified opening poems. In this case we may refer the reader to V 4. As we observed above, Book V is directed to the Emperor and accordingly has a more dignified character than Book III. Nevertheless, between the opening poems which are directed to Domitianus (V 1, 2 and 3) and to his ministers (V 5 and 6) a more exuberant poem has found its place in which likewise a

---

[22] In the Teubner-edition Hereaeus (Leipzig 1925) cancels the poem, as well as the most recent editor Giarratano (Turin 1950). The poem is missing in B, cf. Hereaeus, App. Cr.

[23] In this respect I point to the Homeric text, where this phanomenon may often be found. Recently H. Erbse, Hermes 84 (1956), 144 has observed this fact for Demosthenes' Midiana.

person is ridiculed. [24] The situation is completely identical. The poems to Domitianus and to his ministers are separated by V 4 in the same way as the poems to Faustinus and to Iulius Martialis are separated by III 3. This time, however, ancient critics do not seem to have taken offence, for if they had done so and had paid sufficient attention to the special character of Book V, they would have cancelled V 4 rather than III 3.

Both poems, however, are authentical. By them at the beginning of his books directly the poet wishes to give a specimen of his poetry [25] and at the same time to give a diversification with the other opening poems which treat of the same theme. We also see that Martial makes a concession to the environment, because he does not give one of his obscene poems here.

---

[24] This time a person is ridiculed, because he is bibacious: foetere solet vino.

[25] Critics will have to admit that the poem itself offers no characteristics for which it could not be ascribed to Martial. On the contrary, it shows, in my opinion, the characteristic qualities of the poet. As for 1.3 "ipsam crede deam verbis tibi dicere nostris" we must bear in mind that in ancient poetry the poet is the *ὑποφήτης* of the gods — cf. W. Kraus, Wien. Stud. 68 (1955), 65-87. Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechentum. — The reader is reminded of this idea here, though in Martial the original meaning has faded and has lost its original significance.

Rumpt (Gld.)

LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH

BY

CHRISTINE MOHRMANN

In the New Testament we are told that for God there exists no distinction of peoples, neither with respect to mankind's guilt, nor to the promise of salvation. Christ was crucified for Greeks and barbarians alike. So, Hellenistic cosmopolitanism, furthered by Alexander and taught by the Hellenistic philosophers, took on in Christianity a new form and a new background. The Sophist-Stoic doctrine of natural law, the preachings of the Cynics concerning human equality, were rationalistic solutions for a problem which grew steadily more acute. They only superficially influenced the conduct of life in late Antiquity. St. Paul had already distinctly declared that the cosmopolitanism of the new doctrine lay on a completely different religious plane, from the theories of the philosophers: "no more Jew or Gentile, no more slave or freeman, no more male and female, you are all one person in Jesus Christ".[1] And: "Here is no more Gentile and Jew, no more circumcised and uncircumcised, no one is barbarian or Scythian, no one is slave or freeman; there is nothing but Christ in any of us. You are God's chosen people, holy and well beloved".[2] It is thus not accurate to say, as does Dr. Schneider in his learned but often somewhat superficial work, *Geistesgeschichte des antiken Christentums*, that the Pauline vision is transversed by the Early Christian idea of *τὸ τρίτον γένος*, *tertium genus*.[3] This writer interprets *γένος* as "people" in a more or less ethnical sense. From this expression, prompted by the Christian "sense of newness" he assumes that, alongside the two great "Weltvölker", the Jews and the Pagans, the Christians formed a new, young race. This is not true, for the

[1] *Gal.* 3. 28.

[2] *Col.* 3. 11.

[3] Carl Schneider, *Geistesgeschichte des antiken Christentums* I, München (1954) p. 551.

word *γένος* here is used in a religious, spiritual sense. It rises above all ethnical ideas, and indicates that the Christians are new as *ἐκκλησία*, as a religious community, as much with respect to the Jewish religious community as to paganism.

This religious cosmopolitanism, which ignores ethnical frontiers but does not seek to abolish them, gives rise, from the beginning, to a linguistic problem. This problem was clearly posited in *Acts* 2.1, at the first preaching of the Apostles, and on this one, particular occasion was solved in a miraculous manner. This, however, did not dispose of it indefinitely. The linguistic problem facing the first preachers could not have been more impressively conveyed than by that colourful mixture of national names: "There are Parthians among us, and Medes and Elamites. Our homes are in Mesopotamia, or Judaea, or Cappadocia; in Pontus or Asia, Phrygia or Pamphilia, Egypt, or the parts of Lybia around Cyrene; some of us are visitors from Rome, some of us are Jews and others Proselytes; there are Cretans among us too, and Arabians: and each has been hearing them tell of God's wonders in his own language".[4]

The problem of the one message, which had to be brought to so many peoples, arose at that very moment on which the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles. Even in Jerusalem itself this problem cropped up, and not only among the cosmopolitan crowd of that first Whitsun Day. It grew more urgent when the Apostles spread out over the oikoumenè, and still more so when Christianity penetrated across the frontiers of the cultivated hellenistic world.

This problem however has two aspects. On the one hand there is the external, historical problem of the distribution of the different languages in which Christianity was gradually propagated and in which it found expression. It is this problem which Bardy treats in his excellent book *La question des langues dans l'Eglise ancienne*.[5] And yet this question, although important, is, in my opinion, by no means the most important aspect of the Early Christian linguistic problem. The most important aspect concerns not so much the geographical-historical problem as the internal linguistic one. I

[4] *Acts* 2. 9 sqq.

[5] Gustave Bardy, *La question des langues dans l'Eglise ancienne* I, Paris (1948).

speak here of the close relationship which exists in a language, in every language, between linguistic form and content; the close texture of the linguistic system within which every linguistic innovation takes place. I mean too the relationship which exists between the language as a whole, and the culture of which this language is the mouthpiece. Language and thought, linguistic form and linguistic content are very closely linked in the entity of the linguistic structure, and linguistic content as such is again determined by the culture-complex behind the language. Thus, the great linguistic problem of the earliest Christians, which has up till now received so little attention, was as follows. Christianity, or rather the Christians, were, from the outset, very conscious of being new and different. They were obliged, nonetheless, to express themselves in the languages of the Ancient World, which were closely bound up with Classical culture in all its different forms. In this manner, a linguistic tension arose, which was resolved in various ways. Making use of a famous image of Clement of Alexandria,[6] I could say too: the new song of the λόγος demanded new λόγοι, a new language, but this could first be obtained by a laborious differentiation within the framework of the existing linguistic systems.

These are thus the two aspects of the Early Christian linguistic problem which I should like to consider in turn rather more closely. Firstly, the external linguistic policy of Early Christendom: in how far it adopted the various languages for preaching, for the Holy Scriptures, and for the Liturgy. Secondly, the internal attitude of Christianity towards the languages used: in what manner was the message of Salvation expressed in the various languages.

The first aspect of the problem is easier to survey than the second. The summing up in *Acts* 2, 9 already made it clear that the problem here lay not only with the two great world languages of the ancient oikoumenè, although at the beginning, with the first preaching, the problem there showed itself to be most acute. Sooner or later, there arose the difficulty of preaching among those peoples who admittedly lay, or had lain, within the Classical sphere of influence, but which nonetheless had retained their own language: Syriac in Asia Minor, Coptic in Egypt, Armenian, Georgian and

[6] *Protr.* 1, 1 sqq.

also Gothic. People speaking these languages would, sooner or later, come into contact with Christianity. They would accept the Message of Salvation, and every time, the problem of language and of the linguistic formulating of the evangelical message would arise anew. Here lays always the heart of the problem concerning the language of preaching, the language of the Bible, the language of the Liturgy. The first transition took place when preaching in Aramaic had to make way for Greek, the Koinè, the great cultural linguistic unit of later Antiquity. The oral preaching of Christianity had its first contact with Greek in the circles of the Hellenistic Jews in Jerusalem. Sts. Stephen and Phillip originated from these circles, and the first Christian Martyr was the victim (or the fruit) of the clash between Palestinian and Hellenistic Jews. It is this Hellenistic Jewish Greek which was the point of departure of the early Christian Greek, and which, in the form of the language of the Septuagint, enjoyed a lasting influence on the language of Greek speaking Christians. People still realise too little this ubiquity of the Greek of the Septuagint, and seek in the surrounding pagan world and its language the solution to many linguistic problems which is in fact to be found in the Greek of the early Biblical translations.[7]

As soon as the Apostles went to spread the message of Salvation throughout the ancient oikoumenè, they employed Greek (with or without the help of interpreters), as their language of preaching. The language of St. Paul, type of the Hellenized Jew, shows us clearly how this earliest preaching had as its point of departure the hellenistic koinè, coloured and tempered by the traditions of Greek speaking Judaism. But Paul's language too shows us how quickly this language evolved under the breath of the Spirit, and how before long, it followed its own course. The Greek of the pastoral letters is already a language which, under the influence of the spoken language of Paul's circle, has taken on a new, individual

[7] No philologist will agree with the view of Schneider, *O. c.*, p. 146, concerning the language of St. John: "Von Septuagintagriechisch ist nichts mehr zu spüren". Though it is true that there are only few quotations from the Septuagint, there is, also in the language of the fourth Gospel, a strong semitic element, as has been pointed out by several modern scholars. See C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the fourth Gospel*, Cambridge (1953) pp. 74 sqq.

character. It reflects a development which is no longer indebted only to Paul himself, but is already, at least in part, the work of the Christian people.[8]

The earliest preaching, alimented by the tradition of the Jewish communities, and by the Septuagint, soon gave rise to an "international" Christian Greek. At the death of St. Paul, Christ's message had already been propagated over a great part of the oikoumenè, but everywhere, in East and West, (apart from the community of Jerusalem, soon destined to perish) the language of the Christian congregations at the time of the Apostles, and even for a certain time afterwards, is Greek. St. Matthew's Gospel had to be translated into Greek quite early on,[9] for from thenceforeward, the Greek koinè was the oecumenical language of Christianity. In the West, the Roman Bishop Clement, writing in the name of his community, uses Greek. Justin, born in Sichem in Palestine, writes Greek, Irenaeus, born in Asia Minor, speaks Greek, as Bishop of Lyons. This original linguistic unity is an admirable, we might almost say providential fact, which not only facilitated the rapid diffusion of Christianity, but also promoted the unity of the earliest kerugma. The internal linguistic "problématique" was concentrated at the outset on formulation in Greek.

And yet, it is immediately obvious that this linguistic unity could not possibly last. In their turn, the communities of the West, which originally consisted for the greater part of orientals, soon found, in North Africa, as well as in Italy and Gaul, adepts among the Latin speaking populations. With this a new linguistic element made its appearance in the Early Church. Soon Christianity was to be divided into two linguistic blocs: Greek in the East, and Latin in the West. The Church around the eastern outlets of the Mediterranian rested on the Eastern, Greek, linguistic unity, while in the West, the original Greek of the earliest congregations was ousted more and more by Latin. The strong Latin linguistic unity,

---

[8] See W. C. van Unnik, *Hedendaagsche Problemen in de Nieuw-Testamentische Wetenschap*, Nijkerk, (1947) pp. 7 sqq.; W. K. M. Grossouw, *Sint Paulus en de Beschaving van zijn tijd*, Nijmegen-Utrecht, (1947) pp. 10 sqq.

[9] Papias, Eus. *H. E.*, 3, 39, 16.

created by the Western imperium, made its influence felt on the Christian communities.

But with this development, it also became clear that the linguistic situation differed greatly in East and West. In the East, one had the ancient Greek nucleus of the Greek continent, the islands and the Ancient Greek strip along the coast of Asia Minor. Then there was too the Nile Delta, with Alexandria as a flourishing Hellenistic centre, where Judaism and Hellenism had already come into contact. From this contact, the Septuagint, as well as the Jewish Humanism of Philo had come into existence. In this same centre too, a lasting contact between Hellenistic culture and Christian thought and spirituality, was soon to be established. But to return to the linguistic facts. We can thus speak of a permanent Greek-speaking nucleus. We must not forget, however, that everything bordering on these regions, wherever one may penetrate into the interior, although belonging to the Greek sphere of influence, was never completely hellenized.

In the West we find a completely different situation. There, Rome, and the Western Roman Empire, constituted a centralizing and levelling power such as the East never knew. Here the native languages were ousted, one by one, by the all conquering Latin. In Gaul, Celtic was driven back early on by the language of the Roman conquerors, which became first the dominant language of culture, then later also the language of the people. Iberic disappeared in Spain, and in North Africa Berbers was driven back into the interior and only survived there as a peasant dialect; Punic lives on only as a colloquial language of the lower classes in the smaller North-African cities.[10] In short, the East never knew a centralizing factor such as Rome was in the West, and this fact, in combination with others, led to an extremely different linguistic development in the churches of East and West. The fact that, even in the West, Greek was for centuries the language of a cultured upper stratum, as well as of a mainly Eastern urban proletariat, had, in the long run, no effect upon the general linguistic development there. We see how, within three centuries, the complete latinization of the Church was an accomplished fact. The first Bible translations seem

---

[10] See Bardy, *O.c.*, pp. 52 sqq.

to go back as early as to the middle of the second century and probably they were, at the beginning, merely translations for liturgical purposes. At about the same time, or perhaps a little later, the early Latin translation of the first letter of Clement must have appeared in Rome.[11] In North Africa too, the first Acts of the Martyrs and the Passiones were in Latin,[12] and already, towards the end of the second century, the great work of Tertullian begins to appear. In Carthage the official church records of the time of Cyprian were also drawn up in Latin. In Rome too, during the course of the third century, Latin becomes more and more the language of the official church documents. Only the Roman Liturgy, or at any rate the Eucharistic liturgy, obeyed the general law, namely that every liturgy is usually conservative and clings fast to the old linguistic forms. It, therefore, was not Latinized until the course of the fourth century.[13] This however constituted the definite end of the latinizing process in the Western church. An extremely solid ecclesiastical Latin unity was to grow up which would long outlive Antiquity. When, on the threshold of the Middle Ages, Pope Gregory the Great decided to embark on organized missionarizing among Germanic peoples, and notably among the Anglo-Saxons, the preaching, it is true, was done through the medium of interpreters, but Latin nonetheless was brought to the Anglo-Saxons and to the other Germanic peoples as the official language of the Church and of the culture which the Church brought with it and disseminated by way of the schools. And when Charlemagne decided to integrate Latin culture into his Empire, and was seconded in this by Anglo-Saxon "school milieus", this was not in the last place because he considered

---

[11] See Chr. Mohrmann, Les origines de la latinité chrétienne à Rome. *Vig. Christ.*, 3 (1949) pp. 67 sqq. and pp. 163 sqq.

[12] As to the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, I am convinced against Salonius, Clark a.o., of the priority of the Latin version. See C. van Beek, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, vol. I. Nijmegen (1936) pp. 84* sqq., where bibliographical details are given.

[13] See Th. Klauser, *Der Uebergang der Römischen Kirche von der griechischen zur lateinischen Liturgiesprache*, Miscellanea Mercati, I. Città del Vaticano (1946) pp. 467 sqq. I cannot agree with this author as to the Milanese origin of the oldest latin Canon of the Mass. See Chr. Mohrmann, *Rationabilis-Logikos*, Mélanges Fernand de Visscher, Rev. des droits de l'ant. 5 (1950) pp. 225 sqq.

Latin as the Church's normal medium for teaching. It is true that Charles wished to carry on the tradition of the Imperium Romanum, yet Latin was in the first place, for him also, the consecrated language of the Church.

The development in the East was completely different. There, there existed no centralizing power such as Rome was in the West. Constantine could make Byzantium the centre of Eastern Christendom, he could give Christianity Jerusalem as its holy city, to which pilgrims from the West could also flock and which would extend its influence also to the Western liturgy. In spite of all this however there was no question of a linguistic centralization. This, if I consider rightly, does not depend alone, nor even principally, on political factors, but is much more closely bound up with the spirit of Greece, which still prevailed at this time in Eastern Christendom. Since the time of Alexander the Great, there existed in the East, and especially in Alexandria, a tradition of translation.[14] The diffusion of the Hellenistic culture had led to the translation into Greek of foreign, non-Greek, texts. In the circles of the Alexandrian Museion, they seem to have had the idea of translating the whole of known, non-Greek literature. From this movement, coupled with the needs of the Jewish diaspora, emerged the Septuagint. But even more important for later Christian linguistic development than the existence of a pre-Christian Bible translation, is the fact that this translating activity fostered an accessibility for other languages as modes of expression. In other words one can say that, no matter how paradoxical this may appear at first sight, precisely on account of this translation activity, tendencies of linguistic unification were not encouraged. This whole Alexandrian philological activity, this translating which is called: *μεθερμηνεύεσθαι* led to a linguistic accessibility, a grammatical cosmopolitanism and universalism which perceived the unity in the multitude of human languages and the complexity in the unity. The desire for one language could thus scarcely arise in Eastern Christendom. In the *Corpus Hermeticum*, 12, 13, we find these remarkable, and, for the East, so characteristic words: *ὁ λόγος εἷς ἐστι καὶ μεθερμηνεύεται καὶ ὁ αὐτος εὑρίσκεται καὶ ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ καὶ ἐν Περσίδι καὶ ἐν*

[14] See Schneider, *O.c.*, I, pp. 549 sqq.

Ἑλλαδί: "the word is one, and can be translated from language to language, and one finds then that it is the same in Egypt, in Persia and in Greece". An idea like this was certainly the fruit of the work of the Alexandrian philologists. This point of view, which considers every language as a demonstration of the one, unique, human speech capacity, was not without an effect on Eastern Christendom. The Alexandrian philologists had translated foreign literature into Greek. Eastern Christendom followed another, more difficult path. It translated Christian doctrine and Christian ideas, originally formulated in Greek, into the languages of the East, and later of the North. St. Paul's phrase, i.e. that all are one in Christ, but remain different in origin, was understood to mean that the message of Salvation could don the garb of any language, even of a language which heretofore had never been used for literature or abstract thought and sometimes even the script in which the new texts were to be set down, still had to be found. Thus, there came into existence Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Gothic and later also Slavonic translations and the old inheritance of the Church had more and more to be mentally adapted for new languages. The Bible, or fragments of it, was usually the first to be translated. Then followed liturgical prayers (for even the essentially conservative liturgy does not escape linguistic transposition in the East). After this come the Lives of Saints and Martyrs, monastic literature, Sermons and theological texts. This linguistic decentralization leads to the development of national churches, and history teaches us how often linguistic autonomy is followed by a dogmatic split.

This history of the linguistic evolution during the first centuries of Christianity is extremely interesting, yet we are only concerned here with an external development, even though this, as we have seen, finally encroaches deeply on the life of the churches. What seems to me more important, is the manner in which the East on the one hand, and the West on the other, succeeded in creating for themselves a separate Christian language. Here too, we remark parallels, but also differences, differences which for the most part have their origin in pre-Christian factors.

In order to understand fully the linguistic problem which arose with the appearance of Christianity in the Ancient world, we must

realize how closely linguistic form and content are linked, and how deeply a language is bound to the cultural and spiritual milieu whose mode of expression it is. The more developed a language is, the more apt a language has become for formulating the ideas, conceptions and experiences of a mature human spirit or of a mature human community, the closer and stronger becomes the connection between culture and language, between linguistic form and linguistic content. As a result of this, the exact expression of new thoughts and experiences, not bound up with this culture, becomes more difficult in such a language. There is always the risk that existing, traditional ideas interfere with the new thoughts. Now it is a fact that the "consciousness of newness", the feeling of the καινότης must certainly have been very strong in earliest Christian thought. There existed at the outset a strong "antithetical" feeling, which we can still reconstruct from the linguistic facts. The linguistic tradition in Greek, however, since it was a highly developed language, was very strong. The language offered thus a certain resistance to the Christian "newness complex", a resistance which people attempted to break down in various ways. It is on this account, for instance, as we shall see later, that many words belonging to the religious "sphere", and which at first sight seem eminently suitable for expressing certain Christian ideas, were rejected. In general, for the conveying of essential ideas, the Christians like to choose non-technical, often rather neutral words from the general language, for there, the resistance was least strong. This was already noticed and formulated in 1865 by Trench, who says in his *Synonyms of the New Testament*: "When the Christian Church was forming its terminology, which it did partly by shaping new words, but partly also by elevating old ones to higher than their previous uses, of the latter it more readily adopted those employed in civil and political life, than such as played their part in religious matters; and this, even when it was seeking for expression of religious truth".[15]

On the other hand, languages of less developed communities, which have a less "variegated" background, and are less squeamish when it comes to borrowing, or "calquing", have fewer difficulties

[15] *Synonyms of the New Testament.* London-Cambridge (1865) p. 122.

in this respect. Here the difficulty lies more in the absence of the necessary linguistic elements for the formulating of the new religious terms. When for example, people first began to translate Christian texts into Coptic, the linguistic requirements were met in many cases by the transposition of the Greek words, and by "calques". Very often the linguistic elements were, intellectually speaking, still virgin, and conjured up no heterogenous associations.

There is also the additional fact, that in languages of higher cultures, it is often difficult to determine what original or secondary meaning of a word the people had in mind who adopted such a word for a particular idea or conception. What meaning did the Greek Christians take for example, when they adopted the word *μυστήριον* and what is the origin of the Christian use of *sacramentum?* How is it possible that these two words originally could be considered as synonyms? One continually notices that *sacramentum* is used as the Latin equivalent of *μυστήριον* but often it is forgotten that this "equivalence" conceals a great mystery.[16] What is the semantic origin of the early-Christian use of Latin *statio*, or of *paganus*, "heathen"? These are all extremely difficult problems, which appear still more difficult as we obtain a deeper insight into the attitude of the first Christians towards the traditional linguistic material.

If now, we compare Greek and Latin, and examine how these two fully developed cultural languages, (albeit of completely different type) set about giving expression to Christian dogmatic principles, and to the specific elements of Christian culture and life, we find considerable differences. In both cases use is made of the various possibilities offered by the language in such circumstances. Existing words are given a new meaning, new words are coined, or loanwords are introduced. We see too how in both languages the coining of new words is not limited to words for specifically Christian affairs. Both languages tend to create new words to denote general non-technical things and ideas, which are introduced as neutral elements into the framework of Christian life. These words prove that the Christians had their own attitude to life, their own approach to everyday affairs. All these normal elements are equally present

---

[16] See Chr. Mohrmann, Sacramentum dans les plus anciens textes chrétiens. *The Harvard theol. Rev.* 47 (1954) pp. 141 sqq.

in Greek and in Latin, but the mutual relationship in which these different phenomena occur, and their relative frequency, differs from language to language. And these differences reflect again the typical characteristics of East and West. They are partly the result of concrete, clearly demonstrable historical facts and are also in part explainable by the general differences between the Greek and Latin way of thought, which are scarcely to be indicated or defined in any concrete case.

The language of Greek Christianity ties up in two respects with the tradition of the Hellenistic Jews; firstly, by the earliest preaching, and secondly by the lasting influence of the Septuagint. Thus, in the language of the New Testament and of the Apostles, alongside many new elements introduced by Christianity we find countless words and expressions which go back to the Septuagint, or which have developed from it. There is namely a tendency, right from the beginning, to employ the typically Jewish terms in a Christian sense, and to continue along certain semantic lines which, in Greek, begin with the Septuagint. In the Septuagint for example, the word *ἀγάπη* which, notwithstanding several recent investigations, we have never yet been able to find with certainty in any pre-Christian profane text (that is to say in texts without Jewish or Christian influence), is used of sexual as well as of spiritual love.[17] The New Testament adopts this Jewish Biblical word, but uses it only of Christian, spiritual love. *Ἀδελφός* in the Septuagint means "brother Jew", "compatriot". The Christians take over this linguistic usage and *ἀδελφός* becomes thus the term for fellow Christian. This linguistic custom was so noticeable that the pagans made scornful remarks about it.[18] The choice of a particular terminus technicus in Early Christian Greek, is often determined by the example of the Septuagint. The Christians would for example probably never have employed the word *σωτήρ* for Christ as Saviour if they had not seen the word twenty times in their Greek Bible. Later on the Latins will refuse to employ the traditional Latin equivalent of

[17] See Aldo Ceresa-Gastaldo, AGAPÈ nei documenti anteriori al Nuovo Testamento, *Aegyptus*, 31 (1951) pp. 269 sqq.; *id.*, Ancora sull'uso profano di *ἀγάπη*, *Riv. di Filol. e di Istr. Class.*, 31 (1954) pp. 347 sqq.

[18] See H. Pétré, *Caritas*, Spic. sacr. Lov., 22. Louvain (1948) pp. 103 sqq. and 116 sqq.

σωτήρ, i.e. *(con)servator* and coin a new word *salvator*. Only the traditional metrical Latin Christian poetry will continue to use *conservator*, for the poetical colour. In respect to all this, one must remember that at the time when the Septuagint adopted the word σωτήρ, this term had by no means such strong religious associations in the pagan religions as was the case during the first centuries of our era. The chronological element plays an important and too often neglected role in this sort of word study. However this may be, for the first generations of Greek Christians, the tradition of the Greek Version outbalanced the use of the word in pagan religions. One could also say, and this applies to many similar words, that the word σωτήρ was unconditionally adopted by the Christians on the strength of the Septuagint usage.[19]

While the Septuagint, (and in a wider sense, the Jewish-Hellenistic linguistic usage) was thus the point of departure for the Christian Greek idiom, we can establish too, that the Greek Version also gave to Christian Greek a system for utilizing the elements of the general language. Thus for example, the important principle of "rejection", which plays an important rôle in Early Christian Greek, and still more so in Early Christian Latin, is clearly inherited from the translators of the Septuagint. I mean this. In countless cases, when it was a question of specifically Christian affairs and ideas, the parallel words, already existing in general language for more or less analogous phenomena, and whose use would thus have seemed indicated, were not employed. On the contrary, words were deliberately chosen which lay outside the pagan sphere of religious thought, or else completely new words were coined. This process contributed greatly to forming the individual character of the Christian languages.[20] It is however as such, inherited from the Septuagint, even though it rests on a very authentic Christian consciousness of the καινότης, the state of being new and different. We see thus for example, how in the Septuagint, the manifestation of God's majesty (the theophanies of the Old Testament) is not rendered by ἐπιφάνεια. The more neutral Greek word δόξα is

[19] See Chr. Mohrmann, Les emprunts grecs dans la latinité chrétienne, *Vig. Christ.* 4 (1950) pp. 201 sqq.

[20] See G. Kittel, *Lexicographia Sacra*, Theology, Occasional Papers, 7, London, SPCK (1938) pp. 16 sqq.

chosen, a word which, whatever its original meaning may have been, lay in any case outside the sphere of the pagan theophanies. Or, to quote another example: the translators of the Septuagint had already preferred the more general *ἅγιος* to the cultic *ἱερός*. When the former had become a terminus technicus, a number of derivatives were formed; *ἁγιάζειν, ἁγιάσμα, ἁγιασμός*, according to a process then in vogue. These were all taken over by the Christfans, who even added an adjective *ἁγιοπρεπής*[21]. This process of forming derivatives from words which have become termini technici, was destined to find a wide application, especially in Latin. The rejection of certain words, inspired by the fear of being "contaminated" by paganism, sometimes leads also to neologisms, even outside the framework of the derivation. Thus the ancient terms for religious exaltation and enthousiasm were consciously rejected and a new word for religious joy: *ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι* was introduced, especially in the psalms and poetical parts of the prophets. Bultmann says of this word that it means: "die kultische Freude, die Gottes Hilfe und Taten feiert".[22] Even with extension of meaning, notably in the New Testament and in the Apostolic Fathers, this word still keeps its religious significance, "joy in God and for God". The same holds good for the noun: *ἀγαλλίασις*.

Even more important than this "rejection" process, also for the future, was the process of "calque" or "Lehnübersetzung". This is the process by which a completely new thought complex is attached, one might almost say "forced" on, to an existing word, on the strength of certain, more or less limited points of contact. In this manner, completely new elements enter a language, which really lie outside the semantic structure of that language. Anyone for example, not aware of the wealth of associative ideas behind the Hebrew *shalom*, the escatological *shalom*, the Messianic *shalom*, etc., would not be able to understand the Old and New Testament use of *εἰρήνη*. A modern writer has called the Christian *εἰρήνη* a Greek ship laden with a strange cargo.[23] Only those who were initiated into the specific Jewish and later Christian world of

[21] See G. J. M. Bartelink, *Lexicologisch-semantische Studie over de taal van de Apostolische Vaders*, Nijmegen (1952) pp. 8 sqq.

[22] *Theol. Wört. z. NT*, 1, p. 19. See also G. Kittel, *O.c.*, p. 17.

[23] W. S. van Leeuwen, *Eirènè in het NT*. Wageningen (1940) p. 17.

thought, could realize what lurked behind the Greek façade of *εἰρήνη*. Latin follows the same process with *pax*, although here, on the one hand through autochthonous Roman influences and on the other hand through liturgical, *pax* develops a series of different meanings from the already many-sided *εἰρήνη*.[24]

We find another eloquent example in the Greek *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι* which inherits the ambiguity of the Hebrew *hôdâ(h)*: "confession of sin" and "glorification of God". Here too Latin follows with *confiteri*. The linking of "confession of sin" and "glorification of God", so unexpected and paradoxical for the Classical mind, and only explainable by Old Testament Jewish thought, received its fullest literary exploitation in St. Augustine's *Confessions*.[25]

Thus we see how Early Christian Greek finds a point of departure in the language of the Septuagint not only as an "arsenal" of utilizable linguistic material, but also as a methodical example of linguistic adaptation and renewal. When in its turn, Latin takes over the Greek Christian elements, we see how it goes to work in essentially the same way. Thus Latin also profits indirectly, but only indirectly, from the system used by the hellenistic translators. For, whereas the oldest Early Christian Greek had the language of the Greek Old Testament as point of departure, so that there already existed a Biblical tradition in Greek to which the former could be related, Christian Latin was obliged to begin without a similar background. For the Latin speaking Christians there was no pre-existing Biblical Latin idiom on which to draw. Early Christian Latin, had, linguistically speaking, to begin from nothing. Greek was the language of the Jewish synagogues, even in the West, and it is highly improbable that there did exist an ancient Jewish Latin Bible-translation. The attempt made by Blondheim to prove the existence of a pre-Christian Jewish Latin Version has not been succesful.[26] When therefore, in the course of the second century, the Western Christian communities began to become latinized, they were unable to fall back on a Latin Biblical tradition.

---

[24] H. Pétré, *O.c.*, pp. 249 sqq.; Chr. Mohrmann, Misc. Mercati, I, pp. 444 sq.; Chr. Nyrop, *Linguistique et histoire des mœurs*, Paris (1934) pp. 32 sqq.

[25] See Michel, *Theol. Wört. z. NT*, 4, pp. 199 sqq.

[26] D. S. Blondheim, *Les parlers Judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina*. Paris (1925) particularly pp. XXXIV sqq.

Everything still had to be done in Latin, and the only source was the Early Christian Greek of the first communities. There are, of course, certain elements of early Christian Latin which are based on a Jewish tradition, as e.g. the sepulcral use of *pax* or the use of *dormire, dormitio* for the sleep of death. Nevertheless these elements cannot be considered as an evidence of a more important direct Jewish influence on the origins of early Christian Latin.[27] We see thus how the starting point of Early Christian Latin differs considerably from that of Greek. This explains many, often essential, differences between the two Christian idioms. One must not forget either, that the starting point of Early Christian Latin was noticeably later than that of Greek, so that the Latin equivalents of certain Greek Christian words often already reflect a later stage of development. When for example, the Latins choose for μυστήριον the Latin *sacramentum*, this word already reflects a certain evolution in the Biblical μυστήριον. Here too we must not lose sight of the chronological element.

The activity of the earliest Bible translators occurred right at the beginning of the Latinization of the Christian communities, which doubtless began with the colloquial language. The fact that Early Christian Latin as a written language begins, as it were, with the Bible translations is, in my opinion, extremely important for the whole of its later development. For it is largely thanks to these early translators of the Bible, that Early Christian Latin, (which suffered a profound Biblical influence), followed the Greek examples so scrupulously, and is also so chary of certain profane linguistic elements. Let me explain this a little further.

It is a general characteristic of all early Latin Bible translations that they follow the original text, (i.e. the text the translator had in front of him), as closely as possible. Fully conscious of the fact that they were dealing with consecrated texts, where every word had its meaning (often difficult for the human intellect to fathom), where, as Jerome will subsequently point out, even the word order conceals some mystery, the Latin translators proceeded with extreme care. They deliberately abandon the system of "free" translation, advocated by Cicero among others, and proceed word for

[27] J. B. Frey, Les communautés juives à Rome aux premiers temps de l'Eglise, *Rech. de sc. rel.* 20 (1930) pp. 269 sqq. and 21 (1931) pp. 129 sqq.

word, thus conserving as much as possible, the stylistic and linguistic peculiarities of the original text. For the Latins this means as faithful a reproduction as possible, in extremely untraditional Latin, of Greek texts which were already somewhat exotic. This respectful awe of the text, stops the translator from taking any risks, so that, even in cases where it does not appear strictly necessary, they directly transcribe the Greek word. This system of translation continues a tradition of the Jewish translators and it is not impossible that the earliest Latin Bible-translators were subject to direct Jewish influence, by the way of Jewish Christians or otherwise. The way in which, e.g., *δόξα* has been translated in the earliest versions (*claritas*, *maiestas*) seems to point to rabbinic influence.[28]

This scrupulousness of the early translators, sometimes leads to a text which is more transposition than translation. Here again however, one must not make generalizations. This extreme carefulness sometimes leads to surprizing finds, which by far surpass the later, freer translations. When we see for example that several early translations, the North African Codex Palatinus (e), as well as the European, perhaps Illyrian, translation of Codex q[29], render the words of St. Luke, I. 28 *χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη* by *ave gratificata*, then we must admit that this earlier translation is better and more meaningful than that consecrated by the Vulgate, i.e. *ave gratia plena*. The early translators cling to the word for word system: to the one participle corresponds the one word *gratificata*. The adjectives in *-atus*, meaning 'invested with', 'endowed with', were very popular in Early Christian Latin. One has only to think of *cervicatus*, *insensatus*, *mamillatus*, *uxoratus*. Following this process, there was formed from *gratia*, *gratificare*, in the Christian sense, the word *gratificata*, 'endowed with, full of grace'. In this way, one single word was sufficient to reproduce the full meaning of the Greek perfect participle *κεχαριτωμένη*.[30] This example, which could

---

[28] Chr. Mohrmann, *Note sur doxa*, Festschrift Albert Debrunner. Bern (1954) p. 328; Blondheim, *O.c.*, p. LVI.

[29] See H. I. White, *The four Gospels from the Munich ms* 9. Oxford (1888) p. 73; G. Morin, Misc. Merc. I, pp. 95 sqq.

[30] Chr. Mohrmann, Ave gratificata, *Riv. di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 5 (1951) pp. 1 sqq.

be multiplied by many others, may serve to show, that the old process, when intelligently applied, really led to good results, and that one cannot dismiss the early Bible translations as clumsy products of semi-illiterates, as is too often done in Classically minded philological circles.

Whatever the qualities of the early Bible translations may be, this much is certain. They had an extremely important influence on the development of Early Christian Latin, and determined its character for at least two centuries. It is to this influence, coupled with a typical Roman intransigence, that we have to thank (or to deplore), the fact that the earlier Christian Latin is more prudish with regard to the Classical heritage than was Greek. The directly visible result of this general tendency is a smaller number of semantic neologisms than in Greek. In cases where Greek gives a new meaning to an already existing word, Latin repeatedly forms a completely new word, or else uses a loan word. The reluctance to use words with pagan associations was, from the outset, much greater in Latin than in Greek. I have for example already pointed out that where the Greeks happily adopted the already existing word *σώτηρ*, the Latins, albeit after some hesitation, employed the neologism *salvator*, after *salutaris* had proved "inviable". The already existing *conservator* was not taken into consideration for the Christian popular speech, and even less for the theological. The Greek *μυστήριον* which had originally been taken over by the Roman from Greek current speech with the general meaning of "secret" and which thus had had originally no semantic connection with the plurale tantum *μυστήρια*, was used only hesitatingly in the West. It is true that the existence of this word did, in the long run, conjure up for the Christians in the East, associations with the mystery religions. However this may be, the neutral word *sacramentum* was preferred in the West from the first, since (whatever the semantic point of departure for the Christians may have been) it was not a mystery term. For this purpose the Roman used *sacra*, *initia*, *arcana* or *mysteria*. It was only gradually, with the disappearance of the mystery religions on the one hand, and of Latin linguistic squeamishness on the other, that *mysterium* and *mysteria*, obtained a firm foothold in Christian Latin.

We may say that the Latin Christians had, at the outset, to

furnish more linguistic effort than the Greeks, because they could not fall back on a Jewish Biblical tradition in their mother tongue. In this effort they set to work at first rather rigorously, but on the other hand they also took things fairly easily, for they contented themselves too with adopting countless Greek words as loanwords. Here we come to a very great difference between Early Christian Greek and Latin, between the languages of East and West. However revolutionary the semantic development of many existing words might be in the Greek of the Septuagint and that of the Christians, the language is nonetheless strikingly conservative when it comes to introducing loan-words. Greek erects a barrier against any foreign influence, and one can count the Hebrew and Aramaic loanwords in Early Christian Greek on the fingers of one hand. And even these few foreign elements have a tendency to disappear, or else they are only used in the Liturgy; or there has been made an attempt to "nationalize" them, as it were, by a false etymology. An Aramaic term like *maranatha*, remains confined to the earliest liturgy. The loanword *πάσχα* was, in a long tradition, beginning from Melito of Sardes, connected by folk etymology with *πάσχειν* and thus as it were, claimed for Greek.[31] Greek, notwithstanding all foreign influence, worked with its own linguistic elements and despised loanwords. This is not a new trait introduced by the Christians; it is the continuation of an age-old Greek tradition. But, on the other hand, when the Latins are prepared to borrow almost without restriction, they too are continuing an old tradition, a tradition which obtained especially in Latin popular speech.[32] We can safely say that nearly all the early termini technici for concrete Christian affairs and institutions of the first centuries, were represented in Latin by Greek loanwords. Contrariwise, the abstract terms are usually either semantic or lexicological neologisms. One can consider this large number of loanwords as being inherited from the time when Greek was the oecumenical language of Christianity. No replacements were sought for these current words, even when Latin had found general acceptance, since every-

---

[31] Chr. Mohrmann, Pascha, Passio, Transitus, *Eph. lit.* 66 (1952) pp. 37 sqq.

[32] Chr. Mohrmann, *Vig. Christ.* 4 (1950) pp. 193 sqq.

one understood what they meant. And yet I believe that this is but a partial explanation. When we examine the earliest Latin Bible translations we still find many more Greek loanwords than those which later remained current. The loanword *ecclesia* represents there, not only the assembled congregation, the Church, but has also the general meaning of "assembly". *Paradisus* has the general, non technical meaning of "garden". Words like *accidia*, *aporia*, *aporiari*, *cataplasmare*, *nomisma*, *plasmator* etc., which occur in the early translations, give us an idea of the scrupulousness, (and sometimes too of the easy-goingness), of the earliest translators.[33] But this sort of words was not retained, and thus did not pass into the general language. We see therefore, how the non-technical loanwords, not indicating any concrete matter or institution nearly all disappeared. The termini technici on the other hand, were maintained. St. Jerome, in his revisions of the Biblical text, eliminated the greater part of these non-technical loanwords. This serves us as a clear indication that they did not belong, or no longer belonged, to the general language. The adoption of Greek words did thus occur systematically. There is no question of haphazard selection. We are justified therefore in asking the question, is there any special reason for the conservation of this particular category of Greek words? I think there is. I believe that this phenomenon conceals a scrupulousness characteristic of Western Christianity; the fear of arousing associations with pagan institutions in the naming of typically Christian institutions. These age old loanwords are the symptoms of a deliberate isolationism.

This process is founded on a linguistic fact. Every word forms part of the linguistic system and as such, conjures up associations, associations which in many cases the Christians wished to avoid. Foreign words however, stand outside the linguistic system; they awake no associations, they are neutral. One may then wonder why it was especially these foreign words which were employed for more or less concrete things, whereas Latin words were chosen for abstract ideas. To establish the fact that other languages apply the same process, and that even modern missionaries, independently of the Early Christian precedent, have resorted to similar solutions,

[33] See Hermann Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*[2], Marburg (1875) *s.v.*

is interesting, but does not provide an explanation.[34] This explanation must be sought in the fact that things which are perceptible to the senses are easier to denote by the pure sign constituted by a foreign word than are abstract ideas, for which "speaking," clear terms are almost a necessity. Only in very esoterically inclined groups are foreign words often chosen for abstract ideas. This seems for example to have been the case in certain Gnostic sects. Such esoterism certainly ran counter to the spirit of Christianity.

Notwithstanding all this, the choice of existing Latin words for Biblical Christian ideas sometimes led to misunderstanding, or at least, to less accurate interpretation. The most eloquent example of this is certainly the history of *gloria* as equivalent of the Biblical *kabod-δόξα*. By way of the European Bible translations, *gloria* became in Early Christian Latin, the most usual equivalent of the Biblical *δόξα*. Recently there has been demonstrated that for more than a century, the traditional Roman idea of *gloria* was so strong that it completely superseded in Christian colloquial language the Biblical sense of *δόξα* thus giving rise to a specifically Christian conception of glory. Whereas Tertullian is still conscious of the Biblical meaning of *gloria-δόξα* Cyprian has already forgotten it, and the Biblical meaning will not be revived, in St. Ambrose, until renewed contact has taken place with the Greek Fathers. Thus one sees how the traditional, profane meaning of a word can indeed obscure the Christian meaning.[35]

This last remark leads me to record a fact connected with this question. In the East, a certain Christian "rapprochement" to the profane culture begins comparatively early, and this is clearly reflected in the language. As is well known, it is again in Alexandria that these tendencies first emerge. Clement of Alexandria already sought points of contact with the pagan philosophy, and we notice certain concessions to this humanism in his linguistic usage. And yet, in my opinion, people usually consider Clement's language as

---

[34] See Walbert Bühlmann, *Die christliche Terminologie als missionsmethodisches Problem*, Schöneck-Beckenried (1950) pp. 20 sqq.; Chr. Mohrmann, *Le problème du vocabulaire chrétien*, Scientia Missionum ancilla, Utrecht-Nijmegen (1953) pp. 254 sqq.

[35] See A. J. Vermeulen, *The semantic development of Gloria in Early-christian Latin*, Lat. Christ. prim. 12, Utrecht-Nijmegen (1956), *passim*.

being more "pagan" than it actually is. They notably cite the many terms appearing in Clement, which are borrowed from the mysteries, and think they see already the first symptoms of an influence of the mystery religions on Christianity. If one goes deeper into Clement's use of the mystery terminology, one sees however, that with him these terms are nearly always used antithetically, in the style of: "*we* possess the true mysteries". In order to prove this, he then contrasts certain Christian elements with the mystery terminology. I can thus fully agree with Kattenbusch and Völker when the latter concurs with the opinion of Kattenbusch who remarks that, when Clement speaks in mystery terms, he is speaking in a language which is foreign to him.[36]

For indeed, the first rapprochement to pagan thought is not to the mystery religions, but to Classical philosophical thought. We must not forget however, as Festugière has so rightly observed, that since Plato, a certain number of mystery terms have found a place in the philosophical language, and have there taken on a philosophical meaning. This rapprochement to Classical philosophical thought has left many more traces in the language of Origen. He, for example, employs the philosophical ἔρως, not only as synonym of the Biblical ἀγάπη, but also as a higher form of mystic love. It is even interesting to see how Origen wrongly interprets a word of Ignatius of Antioch, Letter to the Romans, 7, 2, where Ignatius says: ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται, "my earthly love is crucified". In his *Prol. in Cant.*, 3, Origen thinks that Christ is here meant by ἔρως. He does not seem aware of the earlier Christian linguistic usage, which never employed ἔρως in a spiritual, Christian sense. This false interpretation also mislead later writers. Dionysius the Areopagite, in *De nom. div.* 4, 12, makes use of the text of Ignatius in order to prove that ἔρως is on a higher plane than ἀγάπη.[37]

The rapprochement with the old profane culture and spirituality continues steadily in the East throughout the following centuries. In the fourth and fifth centuries many mystery terms enter Christian Greek in the works of Gregory of Nyssa, among others.

---

[36] "Gewissermaszen wie eine Fremdsprache", see Walther Völker, *Der wahre Gnostiker nach Clemens Alexandrinus*. Berlin-Leipzig (1952) p. 38.

[37] See Th. Camelot, *Ignace d'Antioche, Polycarpe de Smyrne, Lettres*[2]. Paris (1951) p. 134.

The existence of an old word like *μυστήριον* and of several old mystery terms originating from the philosophical language, greatly facilitated this invasion of mystery elements. Here too one has a striking example of the power of the language over thought. On the other hand we must not forget that at this late period, mystery terms were more or less a part of literary fashion, and scarcely represented a living tradition any more. However this may be, Early Christian Greek, which had gone its own way at first, with the language of the Septuagint serving as model in many cases, showed, in later periods, a certain humanistic tolerance, which, while by no means eliminating the old, mainly Biblical heritage, did clear the way for the profane literary tradition.

The West however continued longer to give proof of a certain reserve with respect to the Classical pagan tradition. Even when here too a rapprochement to the profane tradition had gained ground, the old linguistic elements of the first centuries were conserved with much more tenacity than in the East. We first find a rapprochement to philosophical linguistic elements in Lactantius. He remained however, a comparatively isolated figure in his period, and certainly had no influence on current Christian speech. Arnobius, who was converted to Christianity at a very ripe age, displays a remarkable syncretism both in language and thought. This results from the fact that he never really succeeded in adapting himself to the Christian way of thought. His linguistic syncretism is a personal phenomenon, extremely interesting for us, but in no way reflecting a general Christian tendency.

With St. Ambrose and St. Augustine however the picture changes. We then see happening in the West (albeit on a comparatively modest scale), what had already begun in the East with Origen, and in a sense, already with Clement of Alexandria. This is namely an encounter of Christian and profane cultural tradition, and especially of Christian thought and profane philosophical, Stoic and (Neo)platonic, ideas, which is clearly reflected in the language. To quote a few examples: it is St. Ambrose, and above all St. Augustine, who, on the model of the Greeks, rehabilitate *amor* in Christian linguistic usage.[38] It is at this period too, that the *vita*

[38] See H. Pétré, *O.c.*, pp. 81 sqq.; A. Nygren, *Die Ehrenrettung von amor*

beata of the philosophers, transposed to the hereafter, takes its place in Christian escatological terminology.[39] And, to quote an example of a more general character: in the period following the edict of tolerance *natalis* as 'birthday' reoccurs alongside the typically Christian use of *natalis* as 'day of death' (of the martyrs, etc.). The Christians thus return to the profane linguistic usage. And, strikingly enough, this profane *natalis* was used to designate the feast of Christ's birth, celebrated as an historical fact on December 25th, feast which originated in the West, in Rome. That, as is now generally supposed, the name of this feast conceals connections with the profane *Natalis solis invicti*, explains and accentuates the profane use of this word. St. Augustine who also knows already the feast of the *natalis* (birthday) *Iohannis baptistae*, was one of the few to remark on the ambiguity of the word *natalis* in the linguistic usage of the Christians of his time (*Serm.* 314, 1).[40]

I must confine myself to these few examples. One fact however, is clear. Latin too, albeit later than Greek, has conquered its fear of pagan contacts and has abandoned something of its prudery in this respect. But Latin never adopted that freedom towards the old religious linguistic elements that we find for example in the later Greek liturgical language and which is also characteristic of many a later Greek writer.[41]

We can sum up this short comparison of Eastern and Western Christian linguistic development as follows.

After the first oecumenical Greek period, the Early Christian linguistic area divides into a Western bloc and an Eastern Greek

---

bei Augustin, *Δῶρον* M. P. Nilsson dedicatum (Acta Inst. Rom. regni Sueciae, II, 1). Lund (1939) pp. 367 sqq.; John Burnaby, *Amor Dei*, London (1947), *passim*.

[39] See P. J. Couvée, *Vita beata en vita aeterna*. Baarn (1947) particularly pp. 131 sqq.

[40] Mohrmann, Epiphania, *Rev. des Sc. Philos. et Theol.*, 37 (1953) p. 663; B. Botte, *Les origines de la Noël et de l'Epiphanie*. Louvain (1932) pp. 59 sqq.; H. Frank, *Arch. f. Liturgiewiss.* 2 (1952) pp. 16 sqq.; W. Dürig, *Geburtstag und Namenstag*. München (1954) pp. 11 sqq.

[41] Nevertheless the Roman liturgical style has borrowed several elements from the prayers of ancient Rome. See Chr. Mohrmann, Quelques observations sur l'évolution stylistique du canon de la messe romaine, *Vig. Christ.* 4 (1950) pp. 1 sqq.

nucleus. Anything lying outside this Greek core, followed its own national linguistic development.

Early Christian Greek has, as point of departure, the Jewish-Hellenistic Greek of the Septuagint. During the first two centuries, Early Christian Greek develops very rapidly, and is distinguished from the general koinè by numerous semantic innovations, as well as by a number of technical and non-technical neologisms. Greek introduces practically no foreign loanwords. It can express Christian life and thought with the linguistic material already at its disposition. Thanks to the hellenistic Jewish development through which it had already passed, and especially to its own autochthonous Greek development, this language possessed the resources necessary to make it the principal medium of Christianity. With Origen, began the rapprochement to the profane, principally philosophical thought, which retarded, and even in some cases was undoing, the rapid evolution of Early Christian Greek. During the fourth and fifth centuries, the mystery terminology made its appearance in Christian Greek.

Early Christian Latin distinguishes itself from Greek in the first place by its great number of loanwords. These are inherited from the first, Greek period of Western Christianity, but are also the result of the Christian "consciousness of newness", which was so strong in the West, and which also strove towards linguistic isolation. This tendency is responsable too for the fact that Latin has more lexicological neologisms than Greek, which preferred new semantic forms. Although from the middle of the 4th century and still more from the time of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine certain rapprochement to the profane linguistic tradition can be observed, Early Christian Latin remains nonetheless more reserved and keeps its own peculiar character more than later Christian Greek.

If, finally, we now glance back at the ideas which we took as starting point of our dissertation, we can see that the linguistic problem, which presented itself so clearly on that first day in the life of the Church, was resolved in various ways during the first centuries. On the one hand we have the adaptability of the Greek East, which paved the way for the *μεθερμηνεύεσθαι* of the message of salvation in many languages of the East and the North. On the other, we have the strong structure and the reserve of the

Western, Latin, linguistic unit. But this Eastern adaptability was not only willing to risk 'reinterpretation' in many languages. Already early on, it sought to establish a closer tie with the Classical Greek heritage, and did not hesitate to use the old, Greek words with a new Christian meaning. The West, though not rejecting this proceeding, sought, in this respect too, a greater and a more complete isolation. The West was also more conservative. More than the East, it jealously guarded its old, Biblically inspired, linguistic patrimony. Both East and West however, though following from the outset a different linguistic policy, had the same goal in view: they wished to make the *ὁ λόγος εἷς ἐστι* true in a Christian sense.

Nijmegen, 40 Sint Annastraat

L'EMPEREUR JULIEN ET LE VOCABULAIRE CHRÉTIEN

PAR

G. J. M. BARTELINK

Si l'on peut parler d'un langage latin spécifiquement chrétien, on peut dire d'autre part que dans la partie grecque de l'Empire romain le développement a suivi dans une certaine mesure sa propre voie [1]. Peu d'éléments imprévus se rencontrent dans l'évolution linguistique et les tendances puristes ont influencé nombre d'auteurs à un tel degré que des termes chrétiens, très communs par ailleurs (voire même des citations bibliques) sont parfois évités par ces mêmes auteurs chrétiens. C'est ainsi que Grégoire de Nysse se sert une fois du mot *κοσμογένεια* [2] au lieu de *γένεσις: ἐν τῇ κοσμογενείᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ γέγραπται.* Au contraire c'est dans la littérature populaire, les actes des martyrs, les légendes hagiographiques et les biographies des moines qu'il faut chercher surtout le vocabulaire spécifiquement chrétien [3].

Pour un non-chrétien cette terminologie spéciale aura présenté des difficultés. Il n'en aura pas toujours saisi toutes les nuances. Les apologistes s'en sont rendu compte et expliquent plus d'une fois des termes tels que *εὐαγγέλιον, εὐχαριστία, ἀπόστολος* et *βάπτισμα* (Just. Martyr); comp. aussi Théoph. ad Autolyc. II 14 *τὰς συναγωγὰς λεγομένας δὲ ἐκκλησίας ἁγίας.* Ou bien ils les évitent p.e. Just Mart. Ap. I 67 *Τὴν δὲ τοῦ Ἡλίου ἡμέραν* au lieu du terme usuel *κυριακή*. Comp. aussi Teeuwen: « Damit hängt auch zusammen Tertullians Benennung für den Sonntag: in den Schriften Apologeticum und Ad Nationes gebraucht er den Ausdruck dies solis

[1] Voir Chr. Mohrmann, *Taalproblemen in de oude Kerk.* Miscellanea Mgr Dr P. J. M. van Gils: Publications de la société historique et archéologique dans le Limbourg LXXXV (1949) p. 49; id., Quelques observations sur l'originalité de la littérature latine. *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia,* IV 2 (1950), p. 157.

[2] Lidd.–Scott ne notent pour ce mot que Jul. c. Gal. 49A.

[3] Voir D. Hesseling, *Morceaux choisis du Pré spirituel de Jean Moschos.* Paris (1931) passim.

(natt. I 13 (R.W. 83, 23) Apol. 16, 11) dafür, in den anderen Schriften aber, welche einen christlichen Leserkreis voraussetzen, spricht er von dies dominicus, dem spezifisch-christlichen Terminus »[4].

Quand le christianisme se fut répandu dans tout l'Empire, des groupes plus nombreux sont au courant de quelques termes chrétiens. C'est ainsi que nous lisons dans la *Vie d'Antoine* écrite par Athanase (P.G. 26, 941B) que les païens s'écrient: *Ἀξιοῦμεν ἰδεῖν τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον* et l'auteur, comprenant qu'une telle locution pourrait étonner dans la bouche d'un non-chrétien, ajoute: *πάντες γὰρ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐκάλουν*. L'auteur des *Acta Christophori* ne semble pas y avoir pensé quand il fait s'écrier l'empereur Decius: *Οὐαί μοι τῷ παρανόμῳ, ὅτι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ πικρῷ θανάτῳ ἀνεῖλον*[5]. L'expression *ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ* ne semble pas exprimer les sentiments de repentir de l'empereur, mais il faut la considérer plutôt comme un lapsus inconscient de l'auteur qui oublie de modifier son vocabulaire habituel dans la bouche d'un autre.

Par contre, la manière dont certains non-chrétiens tels que Ammien Marcellin[6] se servent d'expressions chrétiennes ou bien ne semblent pas les connaître est très instructive. C'est ainsi qu'il semble intéressant de voir dans quelle mesure chez Julien, qui après avoir reçu une éducation chrétienne est devenu un adepte fervent du paganisme, ce substrat de sa jeunesse ne se nie pas complètement même quand son attitude envers le christianisme est devenue très hostile. Bidez parle du « mélange curieux d'expressions païennes et de réminiscences chrétiennes qui se rencontre dans l'œuvre de l'Apostat »[7]. Ce qui nous reste des livres contre les

---

[4] St. Teeuwen, *Sprachlicher Bedeutungswandel bei Tertullian*. Paderborn (1926) p. 41; inversément les chrétiens sur la terminologie païenne: Sozom. H.E. V 22 *θυσίαις τισὶ καὶ ἀποκλήσεσιν, ἃς ἀποτροπαίους Ἕλληνες καλοῦσι.*

[5] *Acta Christophori*, ed. H. Usener. Bonn (1886) p. 75, 21.

[6] Voir G. B. Pighi, *Latinità cristiana negli scrittori pagani del IV secolo*. Studi dedicati alla memoria di Paolo Ubaldi I. Milan (1937) p. 41–72; P. de Jonge, Philological and historical commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XV 1–5. Groningen (1948) p. 118 (ad 5, 31): "Amm., who was a heathen, speaks of Christianity in terms, which betray the non-Christian: ritus Christianus."

[7] *Vie de l'Empereur Julien*. Paris (1930) p. 362; comp. E. von Borries, art. Julien dans Pauly–Wissowa R.E. X 1 (1917) p. 29.

Galiléens est là pour prouver sa connaissance profonde de la Bible, mais nous verrons que dans ses autres œuvres Julien évite la terminologie chrétienne ou bien s'en sert comme d'une arme d'ironie et de sarcasme. Même là où il a subi l'influence chrétienne comme dans ses pensées sur la charité et sur la fonction et signification du sacerdoce il se base, quant à ses idées et à ses mesures, presque uniquement sur la tradition hellénique; ce qui se reflète clairement dans la terminologie qu'il emploie.

« Ce n'est certainement pas », dit Bidez à propos des remarques de Julien sur l'hospitalité, « la langue des Pères de l'Eglise qu'il emploie pour faire ces recommandations. Et il se garde bien de s'appuyer sur la Bible ou sur l'Evangile. Quand il le peut, il invoque soit des vers d'Homère, soit des oracles d'Apollon. Il écarte de son vocabulaire les mots de pitié, d'aumône et de charité, pour parler, avec la philosophie grecque, de convenance, de fraternité et de philanthropie. Mais les expériences qu'il allègue sont des expériences chrétiennes et c'est la pratique chrétienne des œuvres de bienfaisance qu'il propose en exemple »[8].

Plus d'une fois on a dit, à bon droit, qu'avec le temps seulement le ton de ses écrits est devenu plus acerbe. H. Andersson constate la circonspection de Julien au temps où il ne s'était pas encore prononcé officiellement en faveur du culte ancien: « Loquitur enim ita (dans sa première panégyrique sur Constance) qui iis verbis uti velit, quibus neque assentiatur sententiis christianorum neque illos gravius offendat »[9]. Ital Gelzer a attiré l'attention sur le fait qu'avec le temps Julien semble éviter une expression chrétienne. Après avoir prouvé que la formule *διαφυλάξαι σε ὁ θεός* prend son origine dans la langue biblique, il poursuit: « Wie stark dieser Briefschluss im ganzen als christlich bis in die Wortwahl hinein empfunden wurde, zeigt vielleicht ein Vergleich der S. 170 aufgeführten Grussformel *ἐρρωμένον σε ἡ θεία πρόνοια διαφυλάξοι πολλοῖς χρόνοις, ἀδελφὲ ποθεινότατε καὶ φιλικώτατε* (ep. 13 Bidez) unter einem Brief aus der Zeit vor 360 mit dem Gruss unter Brief 73 (Bidez), der 362 geschrieben ist, nachdem der Kaiser sich ent-

---

[8] o.l., p. 33.

[9] *Quae de numine divino cultuque eius senserit Julianus.* Lunds Universitets Års-Skrift XXVII 2 (1891) p. 6.

schlossen, dem Christentum offen den Kampf anzusagen: *ἐρρωμένους ὑμᾶς οἱ θεοὶ σώζοιεν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον* »[10].

Dans cet article je me propose de discuter les mots chrétiens chez Julien. Conséquemment à leur position particulière les livres intitulés « Contre les Galiléens » ne sont pas toujours pris en considération. Les témoignages les plus précieux sont les quelques mots abstraits qui se trouvent chez Julien. Les termes concrets sont divisés en deux groupes: ceux qu'il emploie isolément dans leur sens absolu et ceux qu'il précise davantage de manière ou d'autre. Et en dernier lieu il sera question de quelques invectives employées par Julien[11].

On ne trouve chez Julien que quelques exemples des mots abstraits chrétiens. Cependant ce sont justement ces termes qui constituent la catégorie la plus intéressante, non seulement — et on peut comparer ici par exemple le contraste avec le contemporain Ammien Marcellin — parce qu'ils fournissent la preuve d'une connaissance profonde du vocabulaire chrétien, mais aussi par la manière dont ils sont introduits et qui chaque fois trahit une certaine réserve. Dans les épîtres nous n'en trouvons qu'un seul exemple[12] (ép. 61 p. 73, 8–9) *Ἱερείων ὑμεῖς ἀπέχεσθαι νομοθετεῖτε· βούλομαι ὑμῶν ἐγὼ καὶ τὰς ἀκοάς, ὡς ἂν ὑμεῖς εἴποιτε, καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ἐξαναγεννηθῆναι.* Bidez fait remarquer ici: pro *ἐκκαθαρθῆναι*, alludens ad Christianorum *ἀναγέννησιν* per baptismum. Il faut noter que la composition avec *ἐξ* d'après les lexiques ne

---

[10] Hermes 74 (1939) p. 175.

[11] Editions citées: C. J. Neumann, *Juliani Imperatoris librorum contra Christianos quae supersunt.* Leipzig (1880); F. C. Hertlein, *Juliani Imperatoris quae supersunt I.* Lipsiae (1875) (d'après cette édition le Convivium et le VIIe discours sont cités); J. Bidez–F. Cumont, *Imp. Caesaris Flavii Claudii Juliani Epistulae Leges Poematia.* Paris (1922); J. Bidez, *L'empereur Julien. Oeuvres completes I 1. Discours de Julien César.* Paris (1932). Pour notre sujet voir W. Koch, Comment l'empereur Julien tâcha de fonder une Eglise païenne, *Revue belge de philol. et d'histoire*, VI (1927), 123–148; VII (1928) 49–82, 511–550, 1363 ss.; comp. aussi H. Raeder, Kaiser Julian als Philosoph und religiöser Reformator. *Classica et Mediaevalia*, VI (1944) p. 179–193.

[12] Contrairement à l'opinion de Koch o.l. VII (1928), p. 512, 1, je ne désirerais pas attribuer un sens chrétien à *ἀγαπάω*, *πείθω* et *ἁμαρτάνω* chez Julien.

semble se trouver que chez Julien (dans ce passage du fameux édit des rhéteurs [13], où Julien apostrophe les chrétiens). *Ἀναγεννάομαι* et ses dérivés sont très usuels chez les chrétiens. Il n'est pas clair si la forme chez Julien est un léger lapsus, une preuve donc qu'il ne puise pas dans son propre langage usuel, ou bien si ce renforcement sert son ironie.

Une reminiscence incorrecte, possible pour *ἐξαναγεννηθῆναι*, semble pouvoir être démontrée dans c. Gal. 201, 12 (comp. R. Asmus, *Vergessene Physiognomika*, Philol. LXV p. 424). Julien y parle de *ὁ σκληροκάρδιος καὶ λιθοτράχηλος λαός* [14]. *Λιθοτράχηλος* au lieu de *σκληροτράχηλος* semble être un « hapax » aussi [15].

Il est également surprenant qu'il se serve du terme chrétien *ἀποκάλυψις* dans c. Gal. 314 E *εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος* (sc. Pierre) *ἐψεύσατο ταύτην ἑωρακέναι, ἵν' εἴπω καθ' ὑμᾶς, τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐπὶ τοῦ βυρσοδεψίου*. Ce mot ne figure pas dans le texte auquel il fait allusion (Act. Ap. ch. 10 : 10, 3.17.19 *ὅραμα*; 10, 11 *ἔκστασις*). Au sens figuré *ἀποκάλυψις* semble bien être exclusivement un terme chrétien. Bien que Julien ne veuille pas citer littéralement — il se

---

[13] Comp. Fuchs, *Art. Bildung in Reallex. für Antike und Christentum.* II p. 354; G. Bardy, L'Eglise et l'enseignement au IVe siècle, *R.S.R.*, 1934, p. 525–549; 1935, 1–27.

[14] Voir J. Brambs, *Studien zu den Werken Julians des Apostaten* I. Eichstätt (1897) p. 11.

[15] En dehors des livres contre les Gal. on ne trouve presque nulle part des reminiscences bibliques. Spanheim a mentionné plusieurs exemples douteux, Wyttenbach a nié toute influence biblique, chrétienne ou juive dans les discours. On trouve probablement dans Or. VII 233A une reminiscence à I Pierre 5, 8 (ainsi Heyler et Geffcken; Brambs o.l. I p. 12: la forme vulgaire de *γρηγορέω* s'explique de cette façon). Geffcken, Neue Jahrb. p. 157 fait mention de *βεβηλουμένων (τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων)* pris dans le même discours: VII 228A: ce verbe qui selon lui se trouve seulement dans la Septante et dans le N.T. figure cependant aussi chez Héliodore, Aeth. II 25 et X 36 (voir Bauer, Wörterb. des N.T. p. 252 s.v.; Hauck, Theologisches Wörterbuch z.N.T. I s.v. p. 604–605). H. Zilliacus régistre dans ses *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen* (Soc. Scient. Fennica. Comm. Hum. Litt. XV 3. Helsinki (1949) p. 63) le mot *ἀγαθότης* qui figure dans les lettres 12 et 86 de Julien, entre les formations néo-testamentaires. Cela ne peut se rapporter qu'à *ἀγαθωσύνη*, voir Grundmann, Theol. Wörterb. I 17. Voir aussi: J. Bidez. *Lettres de Julien.* Paris (1924) p. 158[1].

contente seulement d'un terme chrétien adapté à la situation – il est très caractéristique pour lui qu'il se méprenne parfois en citant par cœur.

Que Julien jette parfois aux chrétiens leurs propres termes à la tête, ce fait se manifeste aussi dans c. Gal. 229 C *ἡ δὲ συνείδησις τοῦ βλέποντος ἀδελφοῦ σκανδαλισθείη ἂν καθ' ὑμᾶς, ὦ σοφώτατοι . . . . φάναι.* Une allusion à la *κατήχησις* chrétienne se trouve dans l'ép. 111 p. 172, 10–11 (aux Alexandrins) *τῇ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ δὲ καὶ κατηχήσει τῶν πανούργων ἀνθρώπων ἐμμένειν εἴπερ ἐθέλοιτε* (comp. *ἐξηγέομαι* ép. 61 p. 73, 5, qui relève pourtant également de la terminologie profane). Un autre emprunt est *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* ép. 115 p. 179, 20–21: *ἵν' εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν εὐοδώτερον πορευθῶσι* (comp. Mt. 19, 23). Il faut d'ailleurs remarquer que le pluriel *οὐρανοί* n'était pas tout à fait inconnu dans le grec classique, comp. F. Torm, *Der Pluralis οὐρανοί*, ZntW, (1934) p. 48–50; E. Peterson, *Εἷς θεός*. Göttingen (1926) p. 269. Une autre allusion se trouve dans l'ép. 89 b p. 128, 7–8 où Julien dit des martyrs *ἀναπείθονται θανατᾶν, ὡς ἀναπτησόμενοι πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν* [16].

Comme on peut s'y attendre, les termes concrets chrétiens sont un peu plus nombreux [17]. Plusieurs sont accompagnés de quelques

---

[16] On pense ici aux actes des martyrs où l'âme s'envole vers Dieu comme une colombe, d'un autre côté on constate précisément à cette époque le développement de la terminologie mystique chez les chrétiens où *ἀναπτεροῦσθαι* est employé souvent au sujet de l'ascension de l'âme vers Dieu, comp. Reitzenstein, *Historia Lausiaca et Historia Monachorum*. Göttingen (1916) p. 151; id., *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*. Leipzig (1906) p. 21; W. Christ–M. Paranikas, *Anthologia graeca carminum christianorum*. Leipzig (1871) p. 21; Grég. de Naz. IV 69–75; Fr. Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*. Stoicheia I. Leipzig–Berlin (1914) p. 6.

[17] W. Koch fait remarquer que Julien emploie *ὁ πέλας* (dans l'épître 89b p. 133, 3 *πρὸς τὸν πλησίον* seulement) tandis que nous ne trouvons dans le N.T. que *πλησίον*: *Enkele opmerkingen over Julianus' ethiek en denkwijze in zijn herderlijke brieven*. Verslag Sectie-Vergaderingen Provinciaal Utrechtsch Genootschap (1925), p. 47 s. Dans les livres contre les Gal. Julien reproche quelquefois aux Chrétiens leur terminologie p. ex. 276 E *ὑμεῖς σωτῆρα* (comparaison avec le Dieu Sauveur Esculape) *τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς (Μαρίας) εἰπεῖν τετολμήκατε*. Sur c. Gal. 306B on peut faire remarquer que *θυσιαστήριον* que Julien emploie en faisant usage de quelque termes profanes, semble être exclusivement juif et chrétien: *ἐπεὶ τά γε ἄλλα κοινά πως ἡμῖν ἐστι, ναοί,*

mots expliquatifs qui en ôtent l'élément surprenant et qui rendent possible leur introduction dans la phrase, p. ex. le mot de la Septante *ἁγίασμα* employé pour indiquer le temple de Jérusalem dans c. Gal. 306A *ἀπεστερημένοι δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ ἦ, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἔθος λέγειν, τοῦ ἁγιάσματος.* [18]. Dans l'ép. b 89 p. 146, 12–15 Julien parle de l'agape chrétienne: *διὰ τῆς λεγομένης παρ'αὐτοῖς ἀγάπης καὶ ὑποδοχῆς καὶ διακονίας τραπέζων (ἔστι γὰρ ὥσπερ τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοὔνομα παρ'αὖτοῖς πολύ).* Julien dit par conséquent dans cette épître à Théodore, l'archiereus de l'Asie Mineure, qu' *ἀγάπη* (et l'accent tombe davantage sur ce mot que sur les deux autres termes) appartient au langage chrétien [19] (pour *διακονία τραπέζων* on peut remonter jusqu'aux Actes des Apôtres, tandis que *ὑποδοχή* semble être plutôt un terme général). *Ἀποτακτιστής* (ou bien *ἀποτακτίτης*) est un autre terme caractérisé par Julien comme étant chrétien. Il est en outre le premier auteur chez qui le mot est mentionné: Or. VII 224B (= Hertlein I p. 290, 9) *ἀποτακτιστάς τινας ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαῖοι · τούτων οἱ πλείους μικρὰ προέμενοι πολλὰ πάνυ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα πανταχόθεν συγκομίζουσι, καὶ προσῆν οἶμαι τὸ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ δορυφορεῖσθαι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι.* Comp. sur la forme du mot Geffcken, *Kaiser Julian* p. 156; Asmus, *Julians Galiläerschrift im Zusammenhang mit seinen übrigen Werken* p. 3, 1; Lambert, Dict. d'arch. chrét. et de lit. I 2 col. 2607–2608; W. Koch, *Comment l'empereur Julien tâcha de fonder une Eglise païenne*, Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire VII (1928) p. 525[5]. On sait qu'*ἀποτάττομαι* et ses dérives sont devenus des termes monacaux très courants. On constate une attitude sceptique par rapport à une locution chrétienne dans un autre passage du même discours Or. VII 224B (= Hertlein I p. 290, 21) *ἴσως δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ὑμῖν* (les Cyniques) *εἶναι πρόσχημα τοῦ φορολογεῖν εὐπροσώπως ὁποῖον ἐκείνοις* (les chrétiens), *ἣν λέγουσιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐλεημοσύνην.* Egalement caractérisé comme terme chrétien on trouve chez Julien dans l'ép. 110 p. 169, 1 *ἀντιλαβέσθαι* (sc. Athanase)

τεμένη, θυσιαστήρια, ἁγνεῖαι, φυλάγματά τινα, περὶ ὧν ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐδαμῶς ἢ μικρὰ διαφερόμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους (aux juifs).

[18] Autres termes juifs ép. 89a p. 127, 4–5 *ἀλλ'ἡμῖν οἴονται τοῖς ἔθνεσιν;* ép. 89b p. 135, 17 *τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ προφῆται*; ibid. p. 141, 11.

[19] Comp. l'art. Agape dans le Dict. d'Arch. chrét. et de lit. I 1 col. 821 (H. Leclercq;) J. Bidez, *Vie de l'empereur Julien* p. 33.

τοῦ λεγομένου παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνου (Bidez fait remarquer dans son apparat critique: an ‹*τῆς*› *ἐπισκοπῆς*? cf. Sozom. V 15, 1–2). Comp. Soph. Lex. s.v. *θρόνος*.

Tandis que les termes cités ici-dessus sont caractérisés clairement comme des mots spécifiquement chrétiens, l'addition de *λεγόμενος*, quelquefois employée par Julien, semble parfois indiquer qu'il s'agit de mots plus généralement connus. Ainsi dans l'ép. 114 (p. 177, 4 de l'édition de l'an 1924 avec traduction) aux inhabitants de Bostra *παρὰ τῶν λεγομένων κληρικῶν* Bidez traduit à bon droit: « qu'on appelle clercs ». D'autre part *λεγόμενος* un peu plus haut dans la même épître (p. 176, 6) n'a de sens que dans la traduction « appelé par les chrétiens »: *πολλὰ δὲ ἤδη καὶ σφαγῆναι πλήθη τῶν λεγομένων αἱρετικῶν* (Bidez: « ceux qu'ils appellent hérétiques ») comp. c. Gal. 206A. Que *λεγόμενος* puisse être parfois interprété d'une autre façon se manifeste dans Athanase, *Vie d'Antoine* P.G., 26, 941B *οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῶν ἱερεῖς* (les prêtres soi-disants des païens).

Autre part *αὐτῶν* ou *τῶν Γαλιλαίων* sert d'explication. Dans l'ép. 115 p. 180, 1–2 (aux Edessènes) Julien donne aux moines (des Ariens) le nom d'*ἅγιοι* dans un passage nuancé d'ironie: *συναγωνιζόμενοι τοῖς ἁγίοις*[20] *αὐτῶν, τὰ χρήματα τῆς Ἐδεσσηνῶν ἐκκλησίας ἅπαντα ἐκελεύσαμεν ἀναληφθῆναι* (On sait que *ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις, ὁ ἅγιος πατήρ* etc. étaient des termes courants de la littérature monacale). Remarquons encore *ἐκκλησία, ἐπίσκοπος* et *πρεσβύτερος* p. ex. ép. 88 p. 121, 22–23 *οἱ μὲν τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἴσως ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι συγκαθίζουσί σοι.*

Le nombre des termes chrétiens employés isolément n'est pas très grand non plus[21]. Restent hors de considération ici les livres contre les Galiléens qui offrent naturellement un matériel très riche p. ex. *βάπτισμα* 245D, *βαπτιστής* 327B, 333C, *διδάσκαλος* 340A, *εὐαγγέλιον* 291A, *θεοτόκος* 262D (*θεοτόκον δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ παύεσθε*

---

[20] *Ἁγίοις*: très probable conjecture de F. Cumont et de H. Grégoire pour *ἀνθρώποις*, la leçon des mss.

[21] Un certain nombre de mots appartiennent aux « *communia* » (bien qu'il y ait des divergences de signification et de fréquence) p. ex. *ἄγγελος, ἁμάρτημα, ἀφίσταμαι, διάκονος* (ép. 88 p. 123, 5 *εὐχῶν εἶναι διακόνους*), *ἐξηγητής, θεολογία, ἱερόω, καθοσιόω, λειτουργία* (ép. 84 p. 113, 17 *τῆς ἱερατικῆς λειτουργίας*), *μυστήρια, προφήτης, σεμνότης, σωτήρ, ὕμνος.*

Μαρίαν καλοῦντες); clairement ironique est le passage 49A *ὁ τοῖς εἰδώλοις λελατρευκὼς Πλάτων*; *πιστεύω* 340A.

Μάρτυς et *χριστιανός* ne se rencontrent que dans des citations. Le premier dans la bouche de l'évêque Pégase d'Ilion, un crypto-païen ép. 79 p. 93, 19–20, *'καὶ τί τοῦτο ἄτοπον, ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἑαυτῶν πολίτην, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς', ἔφη, 'τοὺς μάρτυρας, εἰ θεραπεύουσιν'*; Julien lui-même le circonscrit (comp. ép. 89 b p. 128, 5–8) ou bien en se moquant il emploie *νεκρός* (ép. 114 p. 178, 21–22): *τοὺς ἀπὸ θεῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τὰ λείψανα μετατετραμμένους* (de même *νεκρός* du Christ c. Gal. 206A *τοὺς μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑμῶν τὸν νεκρὸν θρηνοῦντας*). *Χριστιανός* figure dans une lettre aux Bostreni dans une citation de la supplique de leur évêque Titus: ép. 114 p. 178, 1 *καίτοι χριστιανῶν ὄντων ἐφαμίλλων τῷ πλήθει τῶν 'Ελλήνων*. Julien lui-même emploie seulement des termes tels que *Γαλιλαῖος, δυσσεβής* et *ἄθεος* (il n'est pas probable que dans l'ép. 61 p. 71, 9 figure le jeu de mots *χριστός* ~ *χρηστός* qui n'est pas inconnu aux premiers siècles du christianisme: *εἰ δε ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἄλλα μὲν φρονοίη τις, ἐπ' ἐναντίον δὲ ὧν φρονεῖ διδάσκοι, πῶς οὐ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο καπήλων ἐστί, οὔτι χρηστῶν, ἀλλὰ παμπονήρων βίος ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μάλιστα ὅσα μάλιστα φαῦλα νομίζουσιν* où — en trouvant successivement *καπήλων* et *χρηστῶν* — on pense involontairement à *χριστοκάπηλος* et *χριστέμπορος*).

L'épître 90 (à l'hérésiarche Photinus) nous est révélée seulement par une traduction latine (de Facundus, cod. Veronensis du huitième siècle, voir Neumann o.l. p. 5–6). C'est ici que figure le mot *paganus:* p. 147, 17–19 *ostendemus infirmum et corruptorem legum et rationum et mysteriorum paganorum et deorum infernorum;* p. 147, 26–28 *armavit linguam adversus coelestes deos, usque adeo ignorans paganorum mysteria. Paganus* — terme que Julien n'aurait sans doute pas employé — est probablement une traduction de *'Ελληνικός* (comp. la traduction en grec dans Neumann o.l. ibid.)

De plus on trouve dans les lettres: *βαπτίζω, γραφαί, ἐπίσκοπος, θεὸς λόγος* et *'Ιησοῦς*. Ep. 112 p. 174, 9–10 (à Ecdicius, préfet de l'Egypte) *ὃς* (Athanase) *ἐτόλμησεν 'Ελληνίδας ἐπ' ἐμοῦ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπισήμων βαπτίσαι*. Ep. 111 p. 172, 18 (aux Alexandrins) *ὅσα γε εἰς τὴν τῶν γραφῶν διδασκαλίαν ἥκει* (comp. *ἡ γραφή* c. Gal. 49A). Pour *ἐπίσκοπος* voir ép. 114 p. 177, 21; ibid. p. 178, 4; comme titre dans l'ép. 46 p. 52, 18, comp. aussi l'allusion ép. 89 a

p. 125, 1 ss. *Τί τοῦτο οὖν ἐστιν ὃ φημί σοι* (Théodore) *νῦν ἐπιτρέπειν; ἄρχειν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἱερῶν ἁπάντων ἐπισκοπουμένῳ τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν ἱερέας*. C'est précisément le parallèle avec le christianisme qui est accentué par *ἐπισκοπεῖν* qui est normalement un terme général. *Θεὸς λόγος* et *Ἰησοῦς* se trouvent dans une lettre aux Alexandrins [22]: ép. 111 p. 170, 22 *οὔτι τοῖς Ἰησοῦ λόγοις ηὔξησαν αὐτήν* (les Ptoléméens la ville d'Alexandrie); ép. 111 p. 171, 21–22 *ὃν δὲ οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἑωράκασιν Ἰησοῦν, οἴεσθε χρῆναι θεὸν λόγον ὑπάρχειν;* (comp. c. Gal. 333C). Voir E. Peterson, *Εἷς θεός* p. 55: « *Θεὸς λόγος* ist sonst natürlich häufig bei den Vätern, cf. z.B. Greg. Orat. Catech. c. 37 und sonst ».

Remarquons enfin que Julien recourt volontiers au sarcasme et à l'ironie [23]: ép. 115 p. 179, 19–20 *ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θαυμασιωτάτου* (comp. c. Gal. 152B) *νόμου προείρηται*. Comp. L. H. Heyler, *Juliani Imperatoris quae feruntur Epistolae* (Moguntiae 1828) p. 258 concernant la tournure *μακαριώτατον Κωνστάντινον* ép. 60 p. 67, 2: « Num Julianus aliquid ironiae dedit, ubi Christianis epitheton tribuit illorum usu tritum »? Quand Julien dans ses épîtres omet le titre d'Athanase (comp. ép. 110 p. 168, 27; ép. 111 p. 169, 20; ibid. p. 172, 12; ép. 112 p. 174, 7–8) cela rappelle la remarque de Pallade sur l'omission de la titulature de Jean Chrysostome: P.G. 47, 23 *ἡ σύνοδος ἡ ἁγία ἡ ἐπὶ Δρῦν συναχθεῖσα . . . Ἰωάννῃ (παραλείψαντες ὃ ἦν, τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ)*. Julien évite non seulement des expressions chrétiennes, mais il cherche souvent même des invectives. Voir Bidez ad ép. 61 p. 73, 6 (de l'édition avec traduction): « Ici le manuscrit laisse un blanc; le copiste a sans doute sauté une tirade qui était trop injurieuse pour sa foi » et ad ép. 114 p. 178, 22: « A la ligne suivante, où nous supposons qu'il y a une lacune, les copistes ont sauté sans doute des expressions déplaisantes pour les chrétiens ». Parfois ils font une remarque en marge (ép. 112 p. 192, 18 de l'éd. avec traduction: Julien y appelle Athanase *τὸν μιαρόν*): « C'est un bienheureux, chien infâme, apostat trois fois maudit et

---

[22] *Ἰησοῦς* est une conjecture probable figurant à la fin du Convivium 336A (= Hertlein I p. 431, 13); voir Andersson o.l. p. 67.

[23] P. Allard, *Julien l'Apostat* III. Paris (1903), p. 41, p. 320. Les chrétiens se sont servis contre lui de la même arme, voir R. Asmus, Die Invektiven des Gregorius von Nazianz im Lichte der Werke des Kaisers Julian, *Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XXXI (1910), p. 345 ss.

trois fois misérable ». Comp. Geffcken, N. Jahrb. 1908 p. 161[1].

De ces invectives de Julien, seules les désignations pour les chrétiens peuvent être commémorées ici. Comme on sait le terme *ἄθεος* est aussi en usage chez les chrétiens, mais ici comme désignation pour les païens (pour Julien ép. 89b p. 128, 6 et alibi; *ἀθεότης* ép. 84 p. 113, 10.20; ép. 89b p. 146, 15; c. Gal. 43B; inversément *θεοσεβής* et *θεοσέβεια* [24]). Le terme le plus commun chez Julien est *Γαλιλαῖος*, comp. Socrate, Hist. Eccl. III 12 *Γαλιλαῖον γὰρ εἰώθει ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς καλεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς Γαλιλαίους* (dans les œuvres de Julien qui nous sont parvenues, nulle part cependant *Γαλιλαῖος* n'est employé pour *Χριστός*); Sozom., H.E. V 4, 5; Théodorète, H.E. III 8. Si Mücke d'une part estimait que cette désignation ne contenait rien de dénigrant, Völkert, Asmus, Bidez et d'autres, au contraire, sont à bon droit pour l'opinion contraire. On sait que déjà longtemps avant Julien *Γαλιλαῖος* était en usage (voir Arrien, Diss. Epict. IV 7, 6; H. Usener, *Acta Marinae*. Bonn 1886 p. 19, 7–8; *ὁ ἔπαρχος εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐπικαλῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου*). Sur le titre des livres de Julien contre les chrétiens comp. C. Neumann, o.l. p. 101 et Lit. Ztg XXIV p. 299. Le terme *δυσσεβής* se trouve p. ex. dans l'ép. 79 p. 93, 27 (le singulier comme désignation du Christ): *καὶ ἔπραξεν οὐδὲν ὧν εἰώθασιν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς ἐκεῖνοι πράττειν, ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς τὸ μνῆμα σκιογραφοῦντες* [25].

En résumé, on peut dire que Julien évite autant que possible la terminologie chrétienne. Il reproche d'ailleurs au chrétiens l'*ἀγροικία* et l'*ἀλογία* de leurs écrits. Les reminiscences inconscientes sont presques négligeables tout au moins dans la manière de s'exprimer; ce qui n'a rien d'étonnant, puisqu'il emprunte ses arguments à un système philosophique et à une tradition qui n'a presque pas de rapport avec le christianisme. Qu'il est cependant bien au courant de la terminologie chrétienne, prouvent outre les livres contre les Galiléens surtout les épîtres dites depuis Gibbon

---

[24] Voir A. Harnack, *Der Vorwurf des Atheismus in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (T.U., N.F. XIII 4) Leipzig (1905); Reallex. f. Ant. u. Chr. s.v. I 869; Dict. d'arch. chrét. et de lit. I 1, 282; Stauffer Th. Wörterb. III 122.

[25] Sur *βάρβαροι* Or. VIII 252B (consolation sur la mort de Salluste) voir R. Asmus, *Kaiser Julians philosophische Werke*. Leipzig (1908) p. 20.

« pastorales ». Là où sa manière de s'exprimer semble assez surprenante (comp. *ἐξαναγεννηθῆναι, ἀποκάλυψις, λιθοτράχηλος*) on peut dire que c'est là plutôt une conséquence de la façon hâtive avec laquelle il exécutait souvent son travail. Il est très caractéristique que *χριστιανός* et *μάρτυς* sont évités régulièrement (ces termes ne figurent que dans une citation).

Que Julien se distancie d'un terme chrétien qu'il emploie est incontestable surtout quand il s'agit de termes abstraits avec des additions ou employées avec quelque ironie. *Λεγόμενος* est employé dans le même but. On remarque que dans les dernières épîtres où domine le thème de la lutte religieuse, le ton contre les chrétiens devient de plus en plus menaçant [26]. Surtout à l'appui des lettres aux habitants de Bostra et d'Alexandrie on peut tirer la conclusion que des mots tels que *κληρικός, ἐκκλησία* et *πρεσβύτερος* étaient généralement connus à la population demi-païenne demi-chrétienne de ces villes. Comp. pour les termes latins correspondants Pighi, *Latinità cristiana negli scrittori pagani del IV s.* Studi Ubaldi. Milan (1937) p. 41–72.

Enschede, Mekkelholtsweg 94

[26] Voir K. Latte, Kaiser Julian. *Die Antike* 4 (1928) p. 339.

THESAURUS LINGUAE AUGUSTINIANAE

BY

MODESTUS VAN STRAATEN O.E.S.A.

During the last few years Messrs Brepols' Publishing Company (Turnhout, Belgium) have been issuing in quiet succession a number of volumes of the *Corpus Christianorum*, which is to be a complete new edition of all the Churchfathers and Christian Authors up to the tenth century. Naturally this publication will include a new edition of the works of St. Augustine.

Thanks to the initiative of Dr M. van den Hout (Eindhoven, Holland) this publication has induced the Netherlands Province of the Order of St. Augustine to consider whether, on the same principles as those of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* and aided by the above-mentioned publication, it would be possible to compose a *Thesaurus Linguae Augustinianae*. The possibilities proved to justify a positive decision.

Now that preliminary activities have reached a somewhat advanced stage it seems desirable to give some publicity to existing plans and to supply some information as to the methods to be followed for some years to come.

The undertaking is under the direction of a Board whose members have been appointed by the Netherlands Province of the Order of St. Augustine. Two of the members are Dr Ephraem Hendrikx O.E.S.A., lecturer on the Teaching of St. Augustine in the Roman Catholic University of Nimeguen, and Dr Melchior Verheyen O.E.S.A., Maître de Conférences in the Institut Catholique in Paris. Dr M. van den Hout has been entrusted with the scientific and technical supervision.

In order to realise the plans in question as soon as possible the "*Augustinus-Instituut*" has been founded, which has been domiciliated at Eindhoven, Holland (Kanaalstraat 8).

This Institute has in the meantime started its activities. These consist first of all in composing a card-index and in lemmatizing

the cards. In order that the system shall give the complete text of each word, every card is to consist in a complete page of the *Corpus Christianorum*.

In addition to these fundamental labours, the workers in the Institute are already composing a complete St Augustine-bibliography and building up a St. Augustine-library, which will contain, either in book-form or in microfilm, all studies relating to St Augustine. Moreover they have started composing a complete list of Biblical quotations occurring in St Augustine's works.

Although the completion of the entire work will naturally take a considerable number of years, it is hoped that the Institute will be able to finish part of the material already during the years of preparation.

Haarlem, Zijlweg 199

REVIEWS

Origen, *Prayer — Exhortation to Martyrdom*, translated and annotated by John J. O'Meara. Ancient Christian Writers, vol. XIX. Westminster, Maryland, The Newman Press. London, Longmans, Green and Co. 1954. 25/–.

O'Meara has already published St. Augustine's *Against the Academics* which is one of the best volumes in this well-known series. The 19th volume is by the same translator, and it maintains the same high standard. The introduction, on the life and work of Origen, is brief but competent and it gives all the necessary information. Here and in the notes one admires the didactic qualities of the commentator. He has succeeded in writing this book both for scholars and for a wider public. A detailed argumentation cannot be expected and full references to ancient and modern literature would have required a much larger volume. On the other hand, the notes provide the reader with all the explanation necessary for a right understanding of Origen's theology which in many respects is quite different from what can reasonably be familiar to a modern non-specialist. (For instance, the notes on the daemons, on the persecutions, on *παρρησία*, on Fortuna, on the blood baptism of the martyrs). Time and again, the specialist will be thankful for highly interesting remarks in support of the translation of a special passage (*e.g. Exhort.* 47 on *τὰ ἐνεργοῦντα*). Both groups of readers, however, will appreciate that the translator does not interrupt his author unless it is absolutely necessary. His self-restraint is very wise, especially in passages where the mere reference to quotations from the Bible suffices to illustrate Origen's religious enthousiasm and his strong personal belief (*e.g. Exhort.* 18 and 35). I have the impression that in these passages the generally smoothly running translation is even more adequate than elsewhere, although a Dutchman has to give his opinion on this matter with all proper reserve. If I am right, this observation is the highest compliment one can pay to the competence of O'Meara.

At a time when so many people interested in Greek patristic literature, for various reasons do not read Origen in the original Greek, this volume will be an excellent introduction into the works of the great Alexandrian. If I may end with an unusual personal remark I would say that in November 1956 at least one reader of the *Exhortation* was struck by the alarming actuality of Origen's problems.

Leiden, De Laat de Kanterstraat 15B W. DEN BOER

Aurelius Augustinus. Schriften gegen die Semipelagianer lateinisch-deutsch. Gnade und freier Wille. Zurechtweisung und Gnade. Übertragen und erläutert von P. Dr. Sebastian Kopp O.E.S.A. *Die Vorherbestimmung der Heiligen. Die Gabe der Beharrlichkeit.* Übertragen und erläutert von P. DDr A. Zumkeller O.E.S.A. (Sankt Augustinus. Der Lehrer der Gnade. Deutsche Gesamtausgabe seiner antipelagianischen Schriften. Im Auftrage der deutschen Provinz der Augustiner-Eremiten herausgegeben von P. Dr. Lect. Adalbero Kunzelmann O.E.S.A. und P. DDr. Lect. Adolar Zumkeller O.E.S.A) Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1955. 516 pp. Pr. DM 38.–.

Thanks to the important work done by Professor de Plinval of Fribourg (*Pélage, ses écrits, sa vie et sa réforme*, Lausanne 1943; *Essai sur le style et la langue de Pélage*, Fribourg 1947), our knowledge of the origin of Pelagianism and of its theological and philosophical background has considerably increased in the last fifteen years; this progress in its turn enables us to get a better insight into the fundamental problems which are discussed in Augustine's numerous treatises against Pelagianism and Semipelagianism. In this connection the initiative taken by the German province of the „Augustiner-Eremiten", *viz.*, the publication of an edition, with a German translation, introductions and notes, of the entire *corpus* of these treatises deserves the interest of all patristic scholars.

The present volume, which opens the series, brings the edition (according to the text of the *Maurini*, but with numerous important corrections) and translation of the four treatises *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, *De correptione et gratia*, *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, and *De dono perseverantiae*. In a general introduction (pp. 11/30) a brief survey is given of the essential issues in Augustine's refutation of the two heresies, after which (pp. 30/75) the motives for the composition of the four relevant works are amply discussed; of Augustine's letter to Sixtus (*ep.* 194), as also of the letters of Prosper and Hilarius to Augustine (*epp.* 225 and 226), paraphrases are given, whereas the particularly important letters 214 and 215 are fully translated.

The translations of the treatises have been made with great care and give an excellent rendering of the often very intricated style of the originals; the notes, especially those on the *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, offer excellent paraphrases of the trend of thought and give references to the relevant literature.

In general it may be said that Augustine receives his due, but as to the interesting and in many respects problematic figure of Pelagius the reader would have liked to hear more—one particularly misses a discussion of Professor de Plinval's interpretation of the doctrine of Pelagius, and also of the acute observations made by Professor Werner Jaeger in his splendid monograph: *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius* (Leiden 1954), pp. 90 ss. But even apart from the

necessity of a critical discussion of the theses defended in these publications, the importance of Pelagius in the evolution of Christian thought has been so enormous that his doctrine deserves a fuller treatment, even in a series which is primarily concerned with Augustine. Therefore, let us hope that one of the next volumes of this important series will fill up this gap.

Leiden, Witte Singel 91 J. H. WASZINK

O. Cullmann, *Der Staat im Neuen Testament*. J. B. C. Mohr, Tübingen, 1956, 84 pp.

Dieses Buch enthält die Vorträge, welche Cullmann in 1955 in New York and Cambridge (Mass.) gehalten hat. In der Einleitung sagt er sehr deutlich was der Kern aller dieser Vorlesungen ist: das Verhältnis des Christentums zum Staat ist dualistisch. Die urchristliche Eschatologie bedeutet nicht einfach Weltverneinung, allerdings auch nicht Weltbejahung. Verf. zeigt dann, dass diese komplexe Situation auf den chronologischen Dualismus zurückgeht, nämlich dass einerseits das Ende seit Christus schon erfüllt ist, aber dass trotzdem die Vollendung noch aussteht. Diese Gedanken hatte er schon in seinem epochemachenden Buche „Christus und die Zeit" entwickelt und auf diesen beruhen auch seine Vorträge. Dass die Endezeit in Bälde erwartet wird, ist schon in der jüdischen Theologie zu finden; das Neue des Urchristentums ist, dass die Hoffnung auf die nahe Zukunft mit dem Glauben, dass die Endezeit schon begonnen hat, verbunden ist. Die Stellung Jesu zum Staat ist dualistisch. Einerseits ist der Staat nicht Letztes, anderseits hat er das Recht, was zu seiner Existenz nötig ist, zu verlangen (siehe speziell die feinsinnige Erklärung von Luk. 22,35 ff. (S. 21)). Verf. betont, dass man sich nicht auf der Erzählung über das Steuerzahlen beschränken darf, sondern von der Einstellung Jesu zu den Zeloten ausgehen muss, und er nennt Worte Jesu, die s.E. nur im Zusammenhang mit der Zelotenbewegung verständlich sind (Matth. 11, 12; Joh. 10, 8). Aber er lehnt die These Eislers, der aus Jesus einen Zeloten machte, aus guten Gründen ab. Er gibt Lietzmann Recht, dass Jesus als Zelot von den Römern verurteilt wurde, hält jedoch eine Befragung Jesu durch die Juden „nicht für eine pure Erfindung". Die juristische Frage nach dem Recht der Juden (vgl. neuerdings T. A. Burkill, *The Competence of the Sanhedrin*, in dieser Zeitschrift X, 1956, 80 ff.) „ist vielleicht unlösbar".

Röm. 13, 1, I Kor. 6,1 ff. und I Kor. 2,8 ergeben ein einheitliches Bild, das zeigt, dass Paulus Staatsauffassung dieselbe ist als die der Evangelien: derselbe Dualismus, begründet in der Eschatologie. Auch in der Johannesapokalypse findet Verf. dieselben Ideen, sei es dass dort von einem anderen Aspekt des Staates (der Kaiserkult im totalitären Staat) die Rede ist. Im Römerbrief ist die Grenzüberschreitung des Staates im Kaiserkult nicht ins Auge gefasst, in der Apokalypse wird nur von diesem Aspekt gesprochen.

Damit ist aber die Einheit der neutestamentlichen Überlieferung nicht gebrochen.

In einem Exkurs verteidigt Verf. völlig überzeugend seine Interpretation der *ἐξουσίαι* in Röm. 13,1: diese Mächte bezeichnen nicht nur die irdische Obrigkeit, sondern auch die unsichtbaren „Engelmächte" (dieser Exkurs ist zuerst erschienen in Theol. Zeitschr., 1954, 321–336). In einem dieser Vorträge hat Verf. in diesem Zusammenhang mit Recht gesagt: „Aus der Tatsache, dass unserm modernen Denken der Glaube an diese unsichtbaren Mächte ferngerückt ist, dürfen wir nicht schliessen, dass er für die ersten Christen und für Paulus nur eine nebensächliche Ausdrucksform gewesen sei. Wir sollten nicht allzu schnell fragen: können wir diesen Glauben annehmen?" (S. 48). Es scheint aber, dass Cullmann diese ausserordentlich wichtige Frage in diesen Vorträgen überhaupt nicht gestellt hat. Das ist höchst unbefriedigend. Wenn er an einer anderen Stelle (S. 74) sagt, dass „uns im Zeitalter der Entmythologisierung der Glaube an besiegte Engelmächte fern gerückt ist", möchte man doch fragen, ob Röm. 13,1 jetzt nur eine philologisch-historische, oder auch noch eine theologische Bedeutung hat für den christlichen Glauben. Die Antwort eines ausgezeichneten Theologen, wie Cullmann ist, möchte Christen und nicht-Christen interessieren.

Leiden, De Laat de Kanterstraat 15B W. DEN BOER

F. Pfister, *Alexander der Grosse in den Offenbarungen der Griechen, Juden, Mohammedaner und Christen.*

Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft 3. Akademieverlag Berlin 1956, 55S. Pr. DM 5.–.

Im *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* hat H. E. Stier den Artikel *Alexander* geschrieben. Eine der bedauernswerten Lücken in dieser Zusammenfassung ist, dass sie über das Weiterleben Alexanders in den christlichen Offenbarungsurkunden nichts sagt. Diese Lücke wird jetzt durch Pfister in glücklicher Weise ausgefüllt. Seine Ergebnisse kann man am besten in seinen eigenen Worten zusammenfassen: „Alexander d. Gr. trat aus der profanen Welt in den religiösen Bereich ein, zuerst wirkungsvoll auf dem Boden der von ihm gegründeten Weltstadt am Nil, in ihrer hellenistisch-jüdischen Zone, seit dem zweiten Jahrhundert v. Chr., und von hier aus über die syrisch-christliche Literatur in den Koran und von da weiter zu fast allen Völkern des Orients und auf anderm Weg in die christliche Überlieferung des Westens" (S. 55). Diese Entwicklung war möglich, weil von den Schriften der zeitgenössischen Geschichtsschreibung nur die schlechtere Überlieferung bekannt geblieben war, eine Literatur welche die Einbeziehung Alexanders in die heiligen Schriften und in die Apocalyptik förderte und sein Nachleben

im Orient und Occident sicherte. Erst seit der Renaissance wurde das geschichtliche Bild Alexanders allmählich wieder ans Licht gezogen. Dass nicht nur Autore wie Ps.-Kallisthenes für diese Entwicklung verantwortlich sind, sondern dass auch die älteste griechische Apokalyptik, die Verf. schon in Hesiods Theogonie zu verspüren meint, ebenfalls einen starken Einfluss ausgeübt hat, wird mit Recht hervorgehoben (S. 20). Daneben zeigt er sehr deutlich, dass die jüdische Überlieferung am meisten dazu beigetragen hat, die Erinnerung an Alexander durch das ganze Mittelalter zu erhalten. Diese reife Arbeit von Pfister ist das unentbehrliche Gegenstück zum grösseren Buche des jung verstorbenen Engländers G. Cary, *The Mediaeval Alexander*, das ungefähr gleichzeitig bei der Cambridge University Press erschienen ist.

Leiden, De Laat de Kanterstraat 15B W. DEN BOER

H. L. Strack–P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Bd. V. *Rabbinischer Index*, herausgegeben von Joachim Jeremias, bearbeitet von Kurt Adolph, München C. H. Beck, 1956, pp. XI + 101.

Billerbecks invaluable commentary is an indispensable tool for every N.T. student, as is generally accepted by all workers in the field. This great storehouse of rabbinic sayings is also highly important for investigations in the patristic field, not only because the rabbis were contemporaries of the church-fathers, but also because of the many contacts between Jews and Christians and the different ways in which they used the O.T.; the particular stamp of many Christian utterances comes to light through a comparison with jewish texts.

The fourth volume which appeared in 1928, closed with extensive indexes of Scripture-texts and subjects. They were helpful, since various topics were dealt with at different places owing to the fact that Billerbeck commented upon the N.T. and introduced them not for their own sake, but for that of the N.T. Many sayings are quoted several times in completely different contexts and up till now it was impossible to find out where. Therefore the publication of this fifth volume with an index of the texts quoted from jewish sources must be heartily welcomed. The survey so conveniently arranged hardly shows the immense amount of labour put into it, but will be warmly appreciated by every student. The printing is very accurate. A portrait of Billerbeck opens this volume and one looks with admiration and affection to the face of this modest German pastor who never had a university-post, but so deeply influenced N.T. scholarship throughout the world and put succeeding generations under such an immense debt.

Let me raise one question in connection with this index. It is generally agreed that Billerbecks *magnum opus* should be used with great critical

care: he brought together all utterances on a certain topic without indicating the date of the rabbi quoted or the value of such a saying. Especially in view of the rabbinic sources, compilations from several ages and places, it is important to distinguish the various layers. It is possible to find out the dates in Stracks *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*[5], München 1922, but that book is out of print. I for one would welcome it, if something like the "Explanatio signorum quos in No To. Eb Nestle curato occurrunt" which is added to "Nestle" on a separate sheet, could be made in order to give a bird's-eye-view of the authorities quoted.

Bilthoven, Sweelincklaan 4 W. C. VAN UNNIK

THE RELIGIOUS IMPORT OF THE TUSHINGHAM PLAQUE

BY

HAROLD R. WILLOUGHBY

The eponym of the Tushingham plaque is Director A. Douglas Tushingham, formerly of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, but presently of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. In the Spring of 1953 the plaque was acquired from the famous Ohan Collection at the Muristan in Jerusalem. Most recently it has been incorporated into the well-selected Case Archaeological Collection at the University of Chicago.

The plaque (Plate I) is a moderately thin but solidly formed architectural panel of hard baked clay, superfine in texture and softly tan in color. Coloristically it is pleasingly modulated in pastel shades. Much pigment, in simple decorative schemes of red and yellow and blue, still adheres to the surface of the artifact.

In architectonic terms the panel consists of a substantial rectangular podium or base crowned by a perfectly semicircular conch, with a steep gable superimposed thereon. The podium is three and one-half inches wide and two and one-half inches high. The gable, at the protruding outer corners, is three and three-fourths inches wide. From the peak of the gable to the bottom of the base, the panel measures five and three-fourths inches high.

The rectangular base is framed in substantial strips of clay that are closely striated in a simply diversified fashion: diagonally across the side pieces and along the length of the base beam, and vertically across the long top strip. These notwide earthen strips are so firm as to give the impression of quite solid beams. The diagonal striations on the side pieces are distinctly suggestive of the windings of spiral columns. This columnar impression is further accented by two oblong capitals that mutually crown the shafts at the sides; the capitals being plain oblongs, nothing more. In between the capitals the upper rim of the podium is in lower relief than are the oblongs that crown

PLATE I

The Tushingham Plaque. Case Archaeological Collection. University of Chicago

the pilasters at either end. My friend Raymond Bowman indicates that the diagonal cross-strokes on the base beam seem to him to be echoing and prolonging the strong diagonal lines of a tile floor, thought of as extending beneath and in front of the base beam itself.

To an observant student of Jewish ossuaries, the whole scheme of cross-stroke decoration is reminiscent of one of the commonest framing devices presented on the ample sides and the short ends of ostophagi of the imperial era.[1] There the long horizontal strips, top and bottom, carry vertical striations, while vice versa the short vertical strips at the end carry horizontal cross-strokes. The enframement pattern on the Tushingham panel, with its considerately placed diagonal strokes, is a restrained elaboration of this familiar framing device frequently reiterated on the ossuaries of the period. All the decorative striations on the Tushingham panel: vertical or horizontal or diagonal, are presented in relief, rather than being incised.

Filling the center of the large rectangular space is a sizeable and high circumference measuring one and five-eighths inches in diameter. Four small circles, surrounding tiny knobs at their foci, occupy the four corners of the rectangle. These circles and knobs, like the cross-strokes on the enframing beams, are rendered in relief. Two similar circles at lower corners of the substructure, pin together the cross-hatched side pieces and the lengthy base member. This repeated stress on perfect circles cannot be overlooked in any attempt to interpret the entire design.

Surmounting this box-like structure there rises, in a distinct second storey, a colorful conch that is a perfect semi-circle (Pl. I). Its polychrome rays, which are strongly defined, radiate from a very unusual two-thirds circle that rises directly from the lintel below. At the lower center of this segment a tiny knob stands in relief just where the focus of the full circle would be located, were the circumference rendered completely. Here, then, is a unique double emphasis on circularity, incomplete and complete. Why this singular repetition of emphasis just here? We shall later endeavor to answer that question also.

[1] Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period.* New York: Pantheon Books (1953), Vol. I, pp. 110–133; Vol. III, Figs. 105–231.

Above these two storeys, snugly fitted over the conch, there towers a somewhat steep gable, resting on stilts at the sides (Pl. I). It is decoratively patterned, both in relief and with pigmented strokes also. Two sets of triple strokes in mild relief form patterns on the smooth surface of the apex at the very top. Directly below these there is a circumference in sharp and high relief, exactly one inch in diameter. This is flanked, lower down and on either side, by smaller cocentric circles, which swirl with perfect precision around centering knobs. Very peculiar excavated spaces intervene between the colorful radiate lunette at the center, and the stilts at the sides that support the high gable above—though none too securely it must be admitted. Quite obviously these ill-shaped spaces require special attention and explanation. Accordingly they will be considered later in some detail.

Even such a sketchy descriptive analysis as the foregoing calls attention to the manifest circumstance that the perfect circles above and below, and the perfect semicircle of the conch in between, are the primarily prominent and meaningful features of the ensemble (Pl. I), to which all other components are subsidiary. Peripheral and smaller circles outside repeat and re-echo the main motif in fully round fashion. Moreover it should definitely be fixed in mind at the very outset that the larger roundels, in the rectangle below and the triangle above, originally framed disks of polished glass, that were the most striking and the brightest elements presented. There can be no doubt at all of this arrangement. Extant panels of the same class still preserve *in situ* just such glass medallions. Moreover the circular cavities on the Tushingham tablet itself still show rough holes picked out immediately inside the round rim, and also remnants of coarse plaster that originally held such disks in place there. So distinctly important were these crystal medallions that this class of artifacts is most appropriately characterized today as "glass-disk plaques."

At the focus of the larger circumference in the oblong podium below, a clay knob was carefully removed at the time of casting, in order to make way for the placement of the glass medallion within its narrow circular frame. Apparently it was not necessary to do this in the smaller roundel beneath the apex of the gable above.

A secondary feature in comparison with the roundels—a feature

not to be ignored however – is a small and perfectly round hole that penetrates straight through the thinness of the panel just above the gable medallion. Clearly it was intended to suspend this plaque from a wall fastening of some sort.

The excellent craftsmanship of the panel is convincingly demonstrated by the extremely good condition in which the artifact finds itself today. In essential aspects it is amazingly well preserved. True it has been broken; but it has also been securely mended. The line of fracture runs swervingly from left side to right side, across the lower level of the concave tympanum.

The object was originally well formed in a neatly patterned pan mould, into which the fine clay was firmly and carefully pressed. The back, however, was left flat and somewhat rough. It was smoothed by hand, but no more. The rear surface of the panel remains as informal as the façade is scrupulously formalized. Indentation at the lower right angle shows that the partially dry plaque was carefully raised from its matrix at this corner. The bevelled edges of the panel decisively facilitated the process of removing the artifact from its enveloping mould. The fact that the panel was thus carefully produced from a definite form makes one optimistic that replicas of this admirable example may yet be recovered somewhere.

Altogether the Tushingham panel is a most agreeable item with which to work. Aesthetically it has fine quality, pronounced precision, and marked restraint. Furthermore it belongs to a very diversified class of religious objects that are little known and are quite problematic in their import. Such attention as has been given to them has been very controversial, and at times even contradictory in its affirmations. While there can be no doubt of the religious importance of disk panels, all sorts of questions can be raised as to who made use of them, what the different functions of the several sub-groups were, what symbolic values they represented, how highly or negligently they were estimated, and how they should be understood by modern investigators. To make even a beginning at answering such interrogations about the Tushingham plaque itself, the multifarious diversifications of other objects in the disk category must be kept in view for comparative scrutiny. Accordingly thus early in our investigation attention must be given to the several varieties of glass-disk objects that are familiar to scholars at the present time.

I

The over-all survey of glass-disk objects, known to archaeological scholarship at present, discloses a rather surprising variety of subgroups of such artifacts, differentiated from each other in several distinct and realistic ways. There are simple frames and flat silhouettes and rounded figurines and more or less complicated architectural constructions, such as the Tushingham plaque itself. Differences in mediums of expression, in constituent materials used in composition, in forms and patterns followed, and in sizes of the objects themselves, tend to accentuate the diversifications between the several sub-groups. Quite naturally these differentiations are at once helpful and confusing, suggestive and complicating. They tend to veto any over-simplified conception of the values and functions represented by disk artifacts in their total variety. At the same time they tend to pluralize the number of possible uses of single problematic pieces like the Tushingham panel by itself.

Any discussion of materials used in the make-up of these objects should begin with observations concerning the identifying crystal medallions. Usually and normally these crystals were plain, thin, clear, translucent roundels of glass. Sometimes, however, the glass was colored to suit its placement on the plaque, or the character of the object it was supposed to represent: whether a particular kind of fruit, or the eye of a bird or animal, or the flame of a lamp.

Today most extant disks are fragmentary, broken, clouded, and dark. Some of them have become interestingly and even brilliantly iridescent. A few of them have been preserved in sufficient extent to show curving convexity like that of modern watch crystals or American colonial mirrors.

Most frequently and very unfortunately the crystals are nonexistent and the encircling frames are empty and unoccupied. The cavities may at times disclose a thin foil of leaden lining, such as was used in the makeup of mirrors of the same period. If pigmented priming remains, it is typically red. Presumably both priming and foil were employed as aids to reflectability.

For the protecting panels, in which disks were set, a moderate variety of materials were employed. Plaster or clay were the commonest of these. As pottery objects or terra cottas, accordingly,

these artifacts are most numerously recovered at the present time. Sometimes stone was used in their manufacture, if it was soft and easily workable. White limestone, especially, was a preferred concretion. Quite rarely the panels were made of wood. Josef Strzygowski has recorded a blackened Coptic example in that material in the Cairo Museum.[2]

In the matter of shapes and conformation the disk plaques are exceedingly multiform, and they tend to run to extremes both in magnitude and in pattern. Curiously, features of formation and of size here show a tendency to coordinate with each other, at least in a general way.

In the first place, at the n^{th} degree of simplicity and smallness, stand the very neat, geometric frames in circles and squares and polygons. These snugly and firmly enframe the crucial glass disks in their centers.[3]

More frequently than not the geometric frames are quite bare of pattern. Sometimes they are only lineated with incised concentric circles, or flatly patterned with colored segments of circles. Rather infrequently they are encircled with repeat motifs, foliate or floriate, rinceaux or geometric.

In the second place, at the opposite extreme of complexity and size, are the well articulated architectural panels, set out in ample proportions, including well-spaced free areas, specifically for the placement of the indicative glass roundels. The Tushingham plaque (Pl. I) is an exceedingly attractive exemplar of the architectural sub-group of disk objects.[4]

The well organized architectural constructions might be supple-

---

[2] Josef Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst.* Vienna (1904), No. 8825, p. 144.

[3] For reproductions of typical groups of simple geometric frames see: Warren J. Moulton, "Some Recently Discovered Palestinian Pyxes", *The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem,* Vol. I (1919–1920) pp. 70–74, Figs. 1–5B; R. P. Sébastien Ronzevalle, S.J., "Some Alleged Palestinian Pyxes", *Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement for* 1921, pp. 172 f., Plate I, Nos. 1–4.

[4] Good clear photographic reproductions of the structured panels may be studied in Erwin R. Goodenough, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, Figs. 440, 441, 442, 445, 446, and Vol. IV, Fig. 49. See also L. A. Mayer and A. Reifenberg, "Three Ancient Jewish Reliefs", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly: Statement for* 1937, pp. 136–139, Pl. VII, Figs. 1–3.

mented by bird or animal forms, flanking or confronting in stance. Human or divine figures might be present in appropriately structured settings. Realistic portraits, even, might be presented on rare occasion. Certainly religious furnishings and symbols would be recurrent on the architectonic panels.

In the third place, just between the small geometric frames and the large architectural reliefs, were solid figures or figurines, anthropomorphic or ornithic or geometric, presented as flattened silhouettes or cutouts and distinguished as disk bearers.[5]

Most rounded and most unmanageable of the silhouette class of objects were the familiar Astarte figurines. These creatures were somewhat flattened and somewhat rounded, with the glass disk firmly embedded in the chest or between the thighs or even between the shoulders of the figure. The ornithic silhouettes were not numerous in their variety: cutouts of doves or peacocks or chanticleers evidently being preferred above others. The geometric complexes were clearly an enlargement and extension and complication of the simple and single and tight frames. The elongated panel from Beit Jibrin(?), gabled at one end and arched at the other, is a really impressive exhibit of such a geometric conflation.[6]

These formal diversifications, between simple frames and solid silhouettes and ample reliefs, are accented and even exaggerated by contrasts in size between the several genera of disk-bearing objects. The coordinate contrasts are dramatic. They cannot be said to be abnormal or even unexpected, however.

Comparatively speaking the small and simple geometric frames are very small indeed in juxtaposition with the medial silhouetted forms, or the larger structured creations. For any typical group of angular or circular enframements the recorded diameters average around three inches only. It is very exceptional when they expand to six inches.

Within the group of silhouetted objects, the average length of

---

[5] For typical varieties of disk figurines and silhouettes see Moulton, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–80, Figs. 4–7; "A Group of Palestinian Figurines", pp. 80–86, Figs. 1–4.

[6] Moulton, *op. cit.*, Fig. 4, p. 74. For an inclusive and quite representative collection of disk plaques generally see Palestine Archaeological Museum: *Gallery Book* (Jerusalem, 1943), "Byzantine Period", Nos. 1683–1691, pp. 92 f.

solid pattern, whether bird form or geometric figure, is about ten inches. Indeed this is exactly the length of the archetypal peacock pottery recovered by Père Cré at Umm Tuba.[7] So also the gable-semidome panel from Beit Jibrin(?), already cited, is approximately the same length.

On the other hand the architectural Dormition reliefs, treasured now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, normally measure half as large again as the solid silhouetted pieces. In the very nature of the case the complicated character of their construction specifically demanded more space for stable elaboration. Erwin Goodenough's record for the structural plaques in the Palestine Museum is as follows: "These are in the first place much larger than most of the others; some of the dimensions run from twelve to sixteen and a half inches." [8] Appropriately enough, the architectonic panels show almost monumental proportions, especially in comparison with simple frame items.

When all is said that must be said concerning real differences in materials and patterns and sizes between the several genera of disk objects, it remains to observe and emphasize the commonly shared and interconnecting features that concretely hold together the different sub-groups. Regardless of deviations and exceptions, there are certain very obvious aspects all but universally present in all known examples of disk-plaques. These not-to-be-ignored connecting features give tangible clues to significant traits of the artifacts themselves, and to their specific uses in religion and life. For the inclusive category of disk objects as an entire class, the interconnecting aspects are the same as the primary and secondary features already observed and noted for the Tushingham panel by itself (Pl. I).

The matter of foremost importance, then, is the focalizing centrality of the plain glass medallion on all these objects. Invariably the earthenware panel – whatever its size, formation, or decoration – exists for the protection and enframement and enhancement of the crystal medallion, and not vice versa. In the simplest geometric items, the enframement is the most immediate and direct possible. The pottery margin is the frame, nothing more and nothing less. So

[7] R. P. Léon Cré, "Une découverte eucharistique", *Revue Biblique*, III (1894) 277–291.

[8] Goodenough, *op. cit.*, I, 175.

also with the most elaborately structured build-ups, the architecture continues to be a framework for the glass disk. At most it does not distract from concentrating attention on the determinative roundel. The amplest and best spaces are assigned to this primary feature. Without exception the largest medallions are the most pivotally located. For recurrent emphasis smaller disks may be multiplied thereabout as expanse and structure afford opportunity. Aesthetically and symbolically and religiously it is most necessary constantly to keep in mind the bright dominance of the shining glass medallion.

Compared with that crystal roundel, the secondary interconnecting feature between those diversified objects seems secondary indeed. It is that inconspicuous little hole (or holes), usually near the top of the plaque, obviously for suspension purposes. It assured the secure hanging of the panel from the wall of an above-ground building, public or private or semi-public. Just as securely it was adapted to the suspension of the object from the wall of a subsurface cave or catacomb. The intention would be to hang these plaques more or less at eye level, where their qualities could be seen and understood and appreciated by an interested person.

The question of provenance, for groups of artifacts so clearly differentiated and so realistically interconnected, might seem to be more complicated than it actually is. One index on this matter is to observe where, most numerously, these items are being recovered at the present time. By far a much larger number of them have been found in Syria and Palestine, than have emerged from any other Roman provincial area. Only scatteringly have they been reported from other Near East provinces, from east Mediterranean islands, and from Egypt. Still fewer have been known as appearing in Rome and the West. Among the Astarte plaques of Syro-Palestinian provenance and Roman period, neighboring influences have been definitely discernible and specifically recognized: Mesopotamian and Cypriote and Egyptian notably.

As to the time of production for glass-disk objects, it has to be acknowledged that no definite and inclusive chronology has yet been achieved for them thus far. This is due to sheer lack of sufficient numbers of examples to work with, and to the absence of explicit documentation for too many of the known examples. The general consensus as to period of production is that it was in Roman imperial

times, or to say it in another way, in early Christian times. The second and the third and the fourth centuries seem to rate the larger number of attributions, with the third century preferred to the second. Roman imperial in main lines and forms are the controlling architectural arrangements of the structured panels, with Jewish renderings of basilican forms noteworthy on Jewish reliefs. The use of religious symbols and objects in general tallies in time with the structural settings provided for them in the more ambitious pieces. The data regarding both place and time – from Syro-Palestinian areas and from Roman imperial or early Christian centuries – add emphatically to the interest of these inherently fascinating artifacts for and by themselves.

II

In general there can be no doubt at all of the genuineness and depth of religious concern represented by the disk terra cottas. A sizeable sub-group of them is constituted by Astarte figurines, probably the most generally and widely popular of suchlike objects in their areal milieu. The birds silhouetted in isolation as compact forms, or standing paired and heraldic in high gables, are religious-association birds such as doves and peacocks. Also the façades carved in relief on the largest panels are isolated from religious buildings: temples and tempiettoes, synagogues and Torah shrines, lararia and sanctuaries, tombs and cenotaphs, portals and triumphal arches. Actually it is not to be wondered at that Mayer and Reifenberg seriously estimated a small group of arch-and-gable items, presently in the Palestine Museum at Jerusalem, to be copied from the façade and inside wall of specifically the Capernaum synagogue [9] – though of course they were not actually so copied! In fine, almost every main aspect of the disk plaquettes proclaim them to be religiously meaningful objects for their creators and possessors.

With all the variations in size and shape and material and composition and decoration of disk objects, it is not strange that the several groupings disclose also a variety of religious connections with main systems current in their period. The definite identification of religious traits is so frankly displayed now and again on the plaques

[9] Mayer and Reifenberg, *loc. cit.*

themselves, that it can hardly be missed by the alert student today.

Pagans were genuinely fond of representational religious imagery. Jews were profoundly moved by simplified religious symbolism. Christians were equally the heirs of both Jews and pagans in both these lines of interest, representational and symbolic. As frequently as not, then, one can be reasonably certain of the religious connections of a given panel, if he takes pains to interrogate it scrupulously.

With minimum citation of convincing examples, we can illustrate the chief probabilities and possibilities in this matter. Sizeable structured plaques were likely to carry more than one monumental Menorah. Such an artifact could only be classed as Jewish. A subgroup of puzzling plaques was composed of the Astarte figurines. These would surely rate as pagan models. Demonstrably some disk plaques served as Eucharistic containers. These certainly could not be Jewish. They were definitely Christian.

On the other hand, some of these objects are so conglomerate in representational and symbolic features that it is quite impossible to classify them as connected with just one religious group, to the exclusion of all others. Erwin Goodenough cites in full detail a prime syncretistic example from the Palestine Archaeological Museum.[10] The main motif centers in a disk-bearing urn from which a pair of peacocks drink life-giving wine. That familiar group might certainly be pagan; or it might be Christian; or again it might well be even Jewish. At the top center is a nude figure of Astarte – probably it is she. If so she is inescapably pagan. At the lower left corner of the plaque there is a realistic portrait bust, hung with rich jewelry and snuggling a pet dove. Pagan perhaps; Christian perhaps. Either way the portrait is equally probable.

Such are the plural possibilities for definite classification or indefinite syncretistic rating presented by glass-disk panels viewed as objects of religious esteem.

The phenomena of diversity and pluralism are so evident through all phases of the investigation of disk plaques that one cannot reasonably expect to get a single and simple answer, and just one answer only, to the question of the purpose or function served by these interrelated objects. For just one single such object, recovered under very specific circumstances, the simple and single statement

[10] Goodenough, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 177; Vol. III, Fig. 445.

of function might have reasonable validity. It could not possibly have cogency for the entire conglomeration of glass-disk artifacts generally.

Yet exactly this sort of mistake was made by the earliest discoverers and publishers of this class of objects. With great conscientiousness and persistency these pioneering explorers endeavored to establish exactly one use and no more than one use for known examples of such panels. As soon as recognized instances appreciably exceeded the number of one object or one type of object, this kind of monotonous, closed-minded consistency lost its validity and pertinence.

The oldest single hypothesis to be promulgated concerning the archetypal plaque to be isolated, was the pre-eminently religious Eucharistic theory. When over sixty years ago—in 1893—Father Superior Cré of the Pères Blancs of St. Anne in Jerusalem found at Umm Tuba a bird-shaped pottery with a glass-disk inlay, the idea flashed into his mind that it was a Eucharistic container into which a morsel of sacred bread had been sealed. In his publication of the plaque in the following year in the *Revue Biblique*, he records ingenuously how the circumstance that the Eucharistic Congress was scheduled to meet in 1893 at Jerusalem suggested this inspired guess to his mind at just that time.[11] Even so, probably Père Cré was essentially correct in his hypothesis. The character of the bird-shaped pottery itself with its inlaid glass disk was in favor of the guess. The Umm Tuba locale was an important early Christian monastic site. Furthermore the study and restudy of patristic data by Père Cré himself and by later scholars from Macalister to Goodenough, has confirmed the view that the hanging of Eucharistic plaques in early Christian tombs was a religious practise that was popularly prized and officially disapproved. The only modification that Père Cré himself made in his initial guess was to recognize that the bird he found silhouetted in pottery at Umm Tuba was not a harmless dove, but was a splendid proud peacock instead.

Nearly two decades later R.A.S. Macalister of Dublin and the Palestine Exploration Fund had a solitary earthenware roundel, with a carefully centered glass disk, to account for at Gezer. Here he found the Cré hypothesis significant for his need. The roundel

[11] Cré, *loc. cit.*

came from a Christian tomb. In a very simple and rough way it had all the appearance of an early Christian monstrance. Functionally the Cré proposal seemed sound for the Gezer medallion as it did for the Umm Tuba peacock. So Macalister published it as a Eucharistic item in his important Gezer volumes,[12] resurveying briefly the patristic evidence relevant to it.

More strenuous and exacting in their demands than a solitary silhouette or a single roundel were the plaquettes and figurines examined by President Moulton of Bangor, in the first volume of the *Annual* of the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem.[13] They were a dozen in number. As an assemblage they were conspicuously differentiated in size and shape and pattern and character. Included were two Astarte figurines distinguished by prominently placed glass disks.

President Moulton made the conscientious but egregious blunder of trying to make the unitary Eucharistic proposal of Père Cré explanatory for all these cases, for the frankly non-Christian examples, as well as for the neutral or Christian items. With agonizing consistency he did his very best at this endeavor. Regrettably it cannot be affirmed that he succeeded in becoming convincing. That single Eucharistic theory could not possibly be stretched to cover all these multiform cases, standing so far apart in religious relationships as these several forms plainly stood.

In vigorous reaction against this overworking of the pyxis theory by President Moulton, Père Ronzevalle, S. J., equally overworked an untenable counter proposal in the very next year.[14] His investigation was based mainly on a considerable selection of disk objects that he himself had gathered from different sites in Syria for the Louvre collection. His strong contention was that they were all actual mirrors and were intended to be used as such. In view of the pigmy size of the glass disks and their enframements, however, it had to be said that they were toy mirrors, not actual looking glasses for toilet use.

Much later Erwin Goodenough astutely observed that it was dif-

[12] R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*. London (1912), I, 387 f.; II, 455.

[13] Moulton, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–80, Figs. 1–7; pp. 80–86, Figs. 1–4.

[14] Ronzevalle, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–174, Pls. I and II, Nos. 1–5.

ficult to understand how so many toys of this one sort came to be preserved, when such vast varieties of ancient toys have perished beyond possibility of recovery.[15]

Apparently without evaluating what he was doing, Père Ronzevalle almost reinstated himself in scholarly estimation at the very end of his monograph. There he made allowance for yet other possibilities for disk plaques than merely the toy-mirror specification: "It may be that some of these played the part of amulets rather than mirrors properly so called, that others served as domestic ornaments, and that others again received a short inscription and became votive offerings." [16] It is decidedly matter for regret that in concrete interpretation Père Ronzevalle did not take his own summary suggestions more seriously regarding the plurality of possible and actual uses made of disk plaques. There is plenty of specific data to show that different groups of these objects were actually used in such very different ways as here intimated by the learned Father himself.

The next most important additions made to the repertoire of disk panels were the well-scaled monumental terra cottas formerly in the Dormition Museum, but now incorporated in the Palestine Museum collection. They are easily the most ambitious and admirable pieces in their category of disk artifacts. Indeed they have special interest specifically in relation to the Tushingham panel itself (Pl. I), since it also belongs to their architectural group.

These specimens were published in exemplary fashion by Messrs. L. A. Mayer and A. Reifenberg in the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund issued in 1937.[17] Somewhat surprisingly the authors were quite reserved on questions of purpose and use. They did, however, conclude their investigation with a fresh and pregnant proposal that in the Jewish domestic milieu – these reliefs are palpably Jewish productions – they probably served as pendent prayer niches, intended to indicate the direction in which prayer and other acts of worship should be performed. This proposal was so unique and striking at the time that it surely deserves quotation here: "The *novum* of our reliefs lies in the fact that – to judge from the holes – they must have been kept fixed to a wall and so are

[15] Goodenough, *op. cit.*, I, 175.

[16] Ronzevalle, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[17] Mayer and Reifenberg, *loc. cit.*

mutatis mutandis in a way the prototypes of the so-called 'mizrach pictures' to be found on the eastern wall of orthodox Jewish houses, indicating the direction of prayer." Thus the all-too-brief report of Mayer and Reifenberg not only appreciably enlarged the growing corpus of disk plaques; also and more importantly it formulated a new and brilliant hypothesis concerning the utilization of such panels in Jewish domestic practise of religion.

Most recently Erwin Goodenough's encyclopedic survey of *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* has contributed specific confirmation to the astute Mayer-Reifenberg thesis.[18] From the Rudolf Jonas Collection in Haifa Goodenough published an architectural relief which he hailed as "the oldest Mizrach I know." The design consisted of a triple-arched colonnade, with glass disk inserts between the columns, comfortably filling a steeply gabled panel. Under the circumstances, that colonnade could be understood only as representing the ideal Jerusalem temple, with its Holy of Holies. Correspondingly the shining glass disks would symbolize the Shekinah, the very Divine Presence, that gave to the Most Holy Place its acme of religious meaning. Thus the Jonas plaque at Haifa took on great weight and a decisive role as an antique archetype of the impressive Mizrach panels or "pictures" in quite general use today, as they continue to provide orientation for practices of worship and prayer in Jewish families and communities. This type of disk panel, then, was itself a kind of portable shrine which contributed realistic focalization to habitual forms of religious expressionism.

Previously in Volume I of *Jewish Symbols* Goodenough had clearly defined the variant cemeterial function of Jewish disk tablets.[19] This was a most important demonstration for such objects. Actually more frequently than not these potteries are recovered today from the milieux of tombs and cenotaphs and catacombs. There they anciently brought to the gloom of man's eternal resting place the hopeful symbolism of the sacred portal as the entrance to a new and undying life, and the gay gleam of light itself as the brilliant illustration of the sanitive quality and potency of divine and lasting life. Thus the chief Jewish uses of disk tablets, cemeterial and domestic, may now be regarded as definitively established and realistically

[18] Goodenough, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 124–126, Figs. 49, 84, 89.

[19] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 174–177; Vol. III, Figs. 440, 441, 442, 445, 446.

disclosed in convincing fashion with numbers of exemplars.

The major Jewish uses of disk plaques, so cogently developed by Erwin Goodenough, however appealing and impressive they may be, cannot be regarded as comprehending all the potential and actual functioning of all known types of these objects – not by any means! The fundamental circumstance was that other religious people of the period, pagans and even Christians as well as sons of Israel, made good use of such artifacts and esteemed them highly. Among all these religious groups a plurality and multiplicity of particularized usages must be recognized, suiting the typical interests and concerns and needs of the individuals and groups who possessed and used the artifacts. In this matter, function responded to the characteristic concerns of religious people and to the material aspects of the objects themselves.

Astarte figurines, for example, as we have already intimated, would be among the most revered lararia objects treasured in the domestic sanctuaries of pagan households in the eastern Mediterranean world. Religiously they were no less than objects of adoration and worship. Specific portrait panels, such as the one in the Palestine Museum, give realistic and indeed pictorial impressions of the memorial value of these plaques, whether preserved in tombs or in homes. In a non-representational way the same is true of inscribed epitaphs on tombstones recording the names of the deceased, and accompanied by cavities for the insertion of crystal medallions. Dedicatory plaques of the disk variety remain, with special places marked out for the names of dedicators. All disk tablets, almost without exception, would have amuletic potency attributed to them. The very weight of religious symbolism that was theirs would determine that. Most of them would also have associated aesthetic interest as objects of domestic ornament. Even the very simplest and plainest of the disk frames were usually attractive items. None of them, however, were just merely ornamental objects and nothing more. Altogether, then, quite a multiplicity of potential functions must be kept in mind for the full variety of different classes and types of disk plaques.

Without regret, however, the proposition that such panels were mirrors, either full-sized mirrors for actual looking glass use, or miniature mirrors for play purposes, may be forgotten and ignored.

Their glass disks were quite too small for full-face reflection, and they were too numerous in a single setting for convenient use. Moreover these were highly significant and richly suggestive religious items, seriously treated and much revered by their possessors and users. They were not the trivialities of ancient toyland. At no time can the religious associations and connotations of glass-disk panels be appropriately left out of view.

Instead, the religious classification of a glass medallioned plaque is a convenient and time-saving guide to the more specific formulation of its probable function. Here the very first question to be asked and answered is this: "To what religious group of the period did this object appertain?"

As already observed, quite frequently the religious identifications are plain, and so the specification of probable functions may proceed forthwith. However it must be said also that there are many disk artifacts that are quite non-committal and innocent of specific index to religious classification. (In such cases definition of likely use may prove to be more difficult and less certain than in the clearly classifiable instances.)

III

When one turns to the specific investigation of the Tushingham plaque (Pl. I), one is impressed first of all by the controlling architectural character of the entire design. Mainly this is an architectonic panel throughout. Accordingly the suitable preliminary to a consideration of its religious purport or intent is to analyse its main structural aspects. As an architectural entity it may be described too simply as a steep gable resting on an oblong, rectangular base. The gable, however, has a large interrupting arch, framing a concave lunette, that occupies its lower area. The semicircle of the arch is wide, and its outer angles rest on pilasters that define at the sides the rectangular podium below. An oblong substructure, and a gable with an interrupting arch at its base, describes in main outline the overall design of the Tushingham panel (Pl. I).

Students of architectural history will at once recognize that this sketchy outline also delineates a dominant type of monumental entrance porticoes, that had outstandingly splendid development in

Roman imperial times. In this imperial version the triangular gable above was a long and relatively low pediment. The rectangular substructure beneath the triangle was an open colonnade; and the interrupting arch at the base of the gable was an arcuated architrave, swerving upward above the central intercolumniation, and immediately beneath the apex of the pediment. For convenience and brevity we call it the "arcuated Roman portico." That interrupting central arch was the distinctive feature of the construction. The mightiest and most important buildings of the times, whether sacred or secular, were likely to have such an arcuated introductory member at the ceremonial entrance.

A very grand and earlier example from the Syrian section of the Empire was the eastern portico of the stupendous Baalbek precinct between the Lebanons and the Antilebanons.[20] There it introduced the awed visitor to the hexagonal court anterior to the colossal temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus. An equally superb, but a later and middle Mediterranean example, from the period of the Tetrarchate, was the high portico of the vestibule to the imperial audience hall in Diocletian's retirement palace at Spalato.[21] It still stands there in all its splendid altitude. There in late antique times it introduced the awed visitor to the divinized presence of the imperial personage himself. The arcuated portico was undoubtedly Rome's grandest accomplishment in the field of monumental entrance architecture.

This portico pattern made such an impression, both on Roman imperialists and on provincial populations as well, that it became a favored motif on Rome's provincial coinage through the imperial

[20] Theodor Wiegand, *Baalbek*. Berlin: De Gruyter (1921), Vol. I, pp. 103–109, Pls. 16, 41, 121, 129; David M. Robinson, *Baalbek/Palmyra*. New York: Augustin (1946), pp. 11–14; D. S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*. Cambridge: University Press (1945), Fig. 97, p. 227. It is a familiar fact that repeatedly elsewhere in the vast Baalbek precinct the arcuated Roman portico pattern enjoyed prominent placement—elsewhere, that is, than just at the propylaea.

[21] Georg Niemann, *Der Palast Diokletian's in Spalato*. Wien: Hölder (1910), pp. 44–61, Figs. 5, 56, 68, 73, Pls. V, VI, XIII, XIV, XV; Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 316–321, Pl. XXIV. It goes without saying that again and again at Spalato the Roman arcuated portico was given monumental repetition, e.g., in the portico fronting the octagonal imperial mausoleum, immediately contiguous to the vestibule entrance just cited.

centuries. This was most notably the case in the Palestinian area after the crushing out of the two major Jewish revolts, respectively of the late first century and of the early second century. Within the very small circumference of a coin such a spacious pattern had to be rendered most tersely, to be included at all. The brief colonnade could have only two or four or at most no more than six columns, to support the arcuated gable. In the architectural shorthand of numismatics this abbreviated framework came to be understood to mean "temple" or "sanctuary." The temple could be specifically identified by the anthropomorphic statue that it enshrined.

Roman coins minted in Palestine's Aelia Capitolina (= Jerusalem) were characteristically notable for their reliefs of portico shrines in their reverse medallions.[22] From the principate of Hadrian onward, portico designs are recorded for Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161), for Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161–169), for Septimius Severus (193–211) and Diadumenianus (217-218), and also for the Syrian pontiff Elagabalus (218–222).

The god most frequently imaged in a portico shrine on coins of Aelia Capitolina mintage was the enthroned Jupiter himself, *Optimus et Maximus*, the chief of the Capitoline Triad. The goddess most frequently depicted was the turreted Tyche of the provincial capital. Most interesting and suggestive of all were the three-figure, tetrastyle medallions, showing the chief goddess or god in the central intercolumniation, directly beneath the arching architrave. This left the smaller columnar spaces at the sides to be filled by supporting twin divinities, masculinely the vigorous Dioscuroi, or femininely the winged Nikes. Considering the architectonic qualities of the arcuated portico, it is not surprising that it played the role it did in monumental construction, on Roman coinage, and on the Tushingham relief itself (Pl. I). Ultimately and basically the Roman archetype and pattern for the latter formulation was the monumental arcuated imperial portico.

While the main framework of the Tushingham panel must be recognized as echoing the monumental Roman portico, with its interruptive central arch, more detailed features of the inclusive construction, and the juxtaposition of its component parts seem to

[22] Frederic W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*. London: Trübner (1881), "Imperial Colonial Coins Struck at Jerusalem," pp. 247–275.

exhibit another range of influences: areal, provincial, Near Eastern, and Semitic. The closest congeners to these more specific aspects of the panel are to be found in Semitic and Jewish renderings of contemporary Roman basilican forms of architecture, and decoration, particularly in Syrian and Palestinian territory. Most numerously and most prominently these features are to be found concretely incorporated in a very well known and exceedingly important species of Jewish religious building, the "basilican" type of synagogue.[23] The generally accepted adjective "basilican" gives full recognition to the governing Hellenistic-Roman features of these meeting houses: nave, aisles, colonnades, galleries, triple entrances, porticoes, and gable roof. "Galilean synagogues" is an alternative geographical designation that emphasizes where they have been uncovered in largest numbers and in most extensive preservation in recent times. These buildings may be contrasted in typical features with the more indigenous, more Oriental, but less numerously familiar "broad-house" class of synagogues. Erwin Goodenough's latest published census of basilican or Galilean synagogues numbers some three dozen of them for Palestinian territory only. At least a half dozen more, classed by Goodenough as "Synagogues with Mosaics," should be assigned to the basilican group. In a simple way at least, these too are truly basilican.

The Romano-Jewish basilican synthesis found in Galilean synagogues is likely to reveal parallels to the Tushingham design in a variety of conspicuous and crucial places. They may appear most inclusively on the façade as a whole; or most immediately at the chief portal; or quite prominently on decorative window enframements outside or inside the building; or sacredly on a sanctuary screen single or double; or most sacredly in a Torah cabinet or niche or shrine incorporated into the wall orientated toward Jerusalem. Wherever located, the simple built-up affair, tripartite in sections, added up to a small shrine, an appropriately scaled sanctuary.

In vertical structuralization from base to apex, the distinct strata were as follows in masonry renderings. First there was a substantial rectangular substructure with determinative dimensions. Next there was an arcuated, intervening, transitional member, with the semi-circular space beneath the arch asually filled-in in one manner

[23] Goodenough, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 178–267; Vol. III, Figs. 451–666.

or another. Finally, there was the triangular gable into which the arch below usually trespassed. Comparing this Romano-Semitic masonry build-up with the open-framework of the arcuated Roman portico, one becomes conscious of the striking differentiation in the central arching factors involved. In the Roman portico the interrupting arch, whether arcuated lintel or arched architrave, was typically left quite free and open as a beautiful but vacant lunette. In the Roman-Semitic shrine, the trespassing lunette was usually a filled-in area of sorts: perhaps with open grill-work only, as in the huge gaping lunette immediately above the first storey of the Capernaum synagogue; perhaps with plain flat masonry only, thus forming a solid lunette; but rather more frequently with a normal concave conch or a flattened semidome firmly supporting the arch above. The Semitic and Jewish preference for the filled-in lunette, though not invariable, was yet emphatically and frequently reiterated, particularly in basilican synagogues.

Almost any number of examples, illustrating closely matching constructions, could be cited here, in a variety of appropriate materials and from a plurality of locations. Here, however, it is virtuous to be restrained and parsimonious and selective in choosing demonstrative instances. We begin in the large, then, with the entire front of the best known among the Galilean synagogues, the considerably reconstructed meeting house at Capernaum.[24] Most conveniently and suggestively the actual construction of the basilica in two storeys, at the main floor level and higher at the gallery level, is unmistakably outlined on the façade itself, by horizontal masonry moldings, plain or carved in relief. The first storey is delineated by a plain architrave resting on four flat pilasters, with the triple front entrances to the synagogue opening between them. This is the "rectangular substructure" element of the design. Similarly the second storey of the synagogue is outlined at the top by a richly carved and arcuated molding, extending horizontally from one eave of the building to the other. This is the "intervening arcuated member" in the plan. Finally there is the triangular pediment formed by

[24] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 181–192, Vol. III, Figs. 451–479; Heinrich Kohl and Carl Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*. Leipzig: Hinrich (1916), pp. 4–40, Pls. III–VI; E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*. London: British Academy (1934), pp. 7–21, Pls. I–VII.

the gabled roof. Definitely the filled-in arch of the arcuated molding beneath the gable is an interruptive element in this triangle, overlapping it from below. Thus in large-scale space allotment the front-wall of the Capernaum synagogue openly proclaims the building to be a religious sanctuary. Its most obvious features parallel the main areas of the Tushingham panel (Pl. I). Other Galilean synagogue façades that accentuate the same tripartite elements of design may be studied in reconstructions of the basilicas at Kafr Birim, ed-Dikkeh, and Umm el-Kanatir.[25] Were the famous Chorazin synagogue reconstructed, doubtless it too would display the same sort of major space patterning.

It is fitting that our next example of a parallel shrine pattern with a closed central arch should be a carved relief of a Torah shrine, the most revered of the cultic foci of Judaism, particularly after the final destruction of the Jerusalem temple with its Holy of Holies. This panel was uncovered at Peki'in in upper Galilee.[26] It is almost the sole remnant of the synagogue that once stood there. With singular simplicity and clarity it depicts a typical *Aron ha-Qodesh* in moderate relief. The Torah cabinet has double doors, set with dignified vertical panels. The doorposts are well-rounded pilasters. Arranged in a framed rectangular panel, this is the high vertical base of the construction. The intervening arcuated element above is an arched architrave, enclosing a conch, which in turn crowns the Torah cabinet below. An unbroken rope pattern carved on the architrave calls attention to the continuity of its arcuation. Above this there rises a steep gable, with repeats of pendent cursive omegas hung along the projecting edges of the sloping roofs. The conch and gable together, in vertical juxtaposition, provide double enhancement for the pilastered cabinet below. Structurally, this relief is much better articulated than is the Tushingham panel itself (Pl. I).

A second closely cognate example of a Torah shrine with both a

---

[25] Goodenough, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, Figs. 452 (Capernaum), 521 (ed-Dikkeh), 533 (Umm el-Kanatir); Kohl and Watzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 97, Fig. 186 (Kafr Birim); p. 100, Fig. 191 (Kafr Birim); p. 124, Fig. 251 (ed-Dikkeh); p. 134, Fig. 272 (Umm el-Kanatir); Sukenik, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–26, Fig. 3 (Kafr Birim).

[26] Goodenough, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 18 f., No. 20; Vol. III, Fig. 573; Sukenik, *op. cit.*, p. 52 f., Fig. 13; *Idem, The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha.* Jerusalem: University Press (1932), p.24 f., Fig. 26.

conch and a gable should be examined. Preferably it should be approximately in normal scale, but in an exceptional medium of representation. Accordingly we choose the end panel of the floor mosaic in the Beth Alpha synagogue,[27] located in the first bay of the nave, directly in front of the curtained apse itself. The mosaic painting could hardly have been more effectively devised or located. Above, in the ample apse, there stood the most revered of the synagogue furnishings in three-dimensional construction: Menorahs, Lions of Judah, Curtains, the *Aron ha-Qodesh*, with the pendent Lamp of Remembrance. Immediately below, and directly in front of the apse, was the floor mosaic wherein the identical items were pictured, this time in two dimensions only, and rendered by very colorful tessellae. Both the apsidal tableau and the floor picturization centered inevitably in the Torah cabinet. In mosaic depiction this was delineated as a double-doored cupboard, standing upright on a wide base. Triple pilasters, crowned with ornamental vases, served as door jambs. Up to lintel level, this was the high, rectangular substructure. The three vases and the corner finials aligned themselves as an intervening, ornamental sequence. Two birds, perhaps ostriches, perched precariously and superfluously on the extended finials. The triangular gable above was both steep and stepped in saw-tooth fashion. Where was the to-be-expected conch within its semi-circular frame? It was not indeed missing! Instead it was plainly suspended, apparently quite in isolation, in the center of the triangular gable. Above it, pendent from the apex of the gable, was the ever-burning memorial lamp, its flame illuminating at once the apex above and the conch below. In this abnormal juxtaposition of characteristic features there was a peculiar accent on the double enhancement of the shrine-like construction provided by the conch and the gable in vertical array, one above the other, with the Lamp of Remembrance as the mediating or unifying element suspended between them.

It is not forcing or compelling the evidence, but reading it plainly and literally to say that a shrine that was at once arcuated and gabled, had re-emphasized attestation of its inherent sanctity.

---

[27] Goodenough, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 251–253; Vol. III, Figs. 631, 632, 639; Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues*, pp. 31–35, No. 2, Figs. 7 and 8; *Idem*, *Beth Alpha*, pp. 22–34, Pls. VIII and IX.

Such was the doubly accredited sanctuary carved in relief on the Tushingham plaque (Pl. I).

Recapitulating the evidence from closely parallel architectural constructions, imperial Roman and Oriental or Semitic Roman, we may say that the Tushingham panel now demonstrates itself to be a portable shrine in the form of a pendent plaque. As such it would properly be regarded and treated with esteem and reverence, and utilized as definitely a focus of cultic interest and activity. Its inherent sanctity is doubly attested both by the controlling central conch, and also by the high gable above that concave focus. The closed lunette by itself recalls typical Semitic-Roman preferences and practices in construction; while the arch-and-gable combination recalls typical and imperial Roman patterns of monumental enhancement. As here synthesized, elements Semitic and Roman, Oriental and Occidental, combine to create a peculiarly intense concentration of architectural and religious interest just where it is most efficient. That crucial area is the concave lunette with expanding rays that crowns the oblong podium below, while it also provides firm support for the mounting gable above. This architecturally unifying factor, automatically and eventually, proves to be the religiously focalizing factor as well.

IV

At this point a dual problem, that is both puzzling and annoying, intrudes itself and claims consideration. At the outer, lower corners of the Tushingham gable, between the outside struts that support the gable and the arched semi-circumference of the conch within, there are two irregular excavations gouged out of the plain surface of the plaque (Pl. I). These holes have no identifiable form, but they more or less fit the corner spaces that they occupy. Why, in such a regularly constructed and neatly patterned design as this, should these intrusive cavities be tolerated? Can there be found an explanation for them?

Of course one can easily and glibly say that they are negative space fillers, or space fillers in reverse. The suggestion would be that here, for some reason or other, clay was removed altogether, instead of being added in relief, in order to render an otherwise

plain area more interesting. However, like the ill-formed cavities themselves, this "explanation" does not explain. It says next to nothing.

Any number of other shrine-like designs in a very great variety of materials intimate a possible explanation of the negative phenomena shadowed in these spaces. Far more frequently than not, miniature sanctuaries of this sort blossom out in corner acroteria or finials at the outer angles of gables or pediments. The corner piece may be simple or elaborate; it may be foliate or floreate or of tendril design; but almost unavoidably in some form or other it is there! So regular is this arrangement that when the acroterion is absent, it is consciously or unconsciously missed, and some substitute is craved for it. In a relief against a solid background the corner finial could be rendered securely and well. So also it could be done in mosaic silhouette, as in the floor panel at Beth Alpha that we have just examined. There the corner horns provided sure footing for the precariously balanced birds above. Not so on a cutout plaque like the Tushingham panel! Here corner finials could not be securely attached outside the straightly defined limits of the panel proper. Almost surely and almost immediately they would be broken off. It is possible that the corner cavities in the Tushingham plaque were the best substitute the designer could devise for the outside acroteria which practically were out of question there. Since he could not mould the expected external finials, he provided a secure substitute for them, by excavating deep hollows within the design instead. This may be the sufficient account of the irregular corner cavities on the Tushingham panel (Pl. I).

Another more concrete and much more complicated possibility has been advocated by Director Kraeling, presently the Curator of the Case Archaeological Collection. It has vividness and specificity and plenty of precedent. The suggestion arises from the circumstance that sacred shrines, notably in the ancient Near East, were not infrequently rendered more impressive and stately and altitudinous by the addition of a canopy or a baldachino above, hung with rich and lavish curtains. The well-known Torah shrine in the synagogue of Dura-Europos – now reconstructed in Damascus – provides an excellent exemplification of this embellishment. In the excavation of the Torah niche proper, architect Pearson found incontrovertible

evidence that once a gable-like baldachino, hung with curtains, was affixed on the flat summit of the Torah aedicula, directly above the recessed shrine itself [28]. Convincingly confirmatory evidence was immediately discovered in a detailed depiction of a curtained Torah shrine of similar model frescoed on the self-same wall [29].

The picturesque features there disclosed were as follows. The baldachino itself was a framework construct, in the form of a triangular gable. A façadal curtain veiled the face of this gable completely. From the outer angles of the gabled façade long and wide lateral curtains hung downward on either side of the Torah shrine and cabinet. Fitted with draw cords, these side curtains could be drawn forward and together to veil the Torah shrine completely; or they could be drawn apart and backward leaving the shrine fully uncovered and exposed to popular view. During synagogue service the shrine would regularly be unveiled. When service was not being held, the shrine would regularly be curtained and concealed.

At the outer angles of the gable the upper and lower curtains came together in juxtaposition. When the lateral curtains were pulled back as far as possible, uncovered and empty spaces were there left open, incongruously and unrelieved. It is suggested that this arrangement may explain the cavities in the lower angles of the gable in the Tushingham plaque (Pl. I). On this view they would

---

[28] H.-F. Pearson, *Guide de la synagogue de Doura-Europos.* Beyrouth: Impr. Cath. (1940), pp. 11 f., 22 f., 31 f.; *Idem*, "History and Architecture", *Preliminary Report on the Synagogue at Dura.* New Haven: Yale University Press (1936), pp. 22–24, Nos. 14 and 15. Examine particularly the unique and invaluable restoration of the Torah aedicula, with its enveloping canopy and curtains, rendered by Architect Pearson himself in M. Rostovtzeff: *Dura Europos and Its Art.* Oxford: Clarendon Press (1938), Pl. XX.

[29] The fresco is the scene of the Ark of Israel being transported away from the Dagon Temple. See Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les Peintures de la synagogue de Doura-Europos.* Roma: Pont. Inst. Bibl. (1939), Pl. XXXIV, No. 17, pp. 75–84; E. L. Sukenik, *The Synagogue of Dura-Europos and Its Frescoes.* Jerusalem: Bialik Foundation (1947), Pl. 12, pp. 88–89; Rachel Wischnitzer, *The Messianic Theme in the Paintings of the Dura Synagogue.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1948), Fig. 29, pp. 64–65. At this point it must be recorded with regret that Carl H. Kraeling's forthcoming volume on the frescoes of the Dura synagogue is not yet available for specific reference in this connection.

be reminiscent of the vacant spaces left uncovered when the side curtains of the sanctuary were pulled back and areas were left wide open there, without interesting covering.

In the very nature of the case this hypothesis is not capable of complete or conclusive demonstration. It remains an hypothesis only. It is, however, a very distinctive thesis that merits careful examination and rumination. Particularly it should be studied in comparison with the phenomena disclosed realistically by the aedicula in the Dura-Europos synagogue. A pictorial reconstruction of the curtained baldachino at Dura can make this proposal seem far more plausible than any aprioristic discussion can possibly do.

V

We come at long last to the final and presumably the most important problem relative to the Tushingham artifact (Pl. I). What initially and intentionally was the religious function of this object? For what purpose or purposes was it created in its own day and place by its designer and craftsman? What use or uses in its own time and milieu did it experience at the hands of its earliest possessors and users? Surely this nexus of problems is not only most important; it is also most engrossing and most baffling.

That from the first the Tushingham plaque was regarded and utilized as a definitely religious item cannot really be doubted. The variety of religious uses, already attested for the closely related architectural reliefs now well known to responsible scholars, all but demonstrates the definitely religious intent of the Tushingham tablet also. If specific and subsidiary demonstration is required for this one piece, it can be found in the well-recognized shrine-like character of the architectural design here so carefully and precisely elaborated. Whatever else the Tushingham panel may or may not be, it is admittedly a portable sanctuary, conveniently designed to be suspended from a wall.

Since it is obviously a religious object, an indicative lead toward a definition or description of its purpose or function is to be found in the primary process of religious classification. To which of the major religious systems, current in Mediterranean society during the Roman imperial era, did this little monument appertain? What

was its own religious attachment? Was it a Jewish religious object, possessed and used by a Jewish family? Or was it a Christian artifact, valued by a loyal devotee of the Lord Christ? Or was it a pagan item, belonging to some member of a Gentile cult brotherhood?

A priori this plaque may have been any one of these three. Or it might have been, neutrally and synthetically, all three of these together and at once. That is at least conceivable. In view of the official religious exclusiveness openly asserted by the Jewish and Christian groups, however, though not by the pagans, that sort of synthesis would practically be exceptional and unusual, if not even unlikely. With reason, therefore, and in the interest of brevity and non-delay, we may revert to the tripartite discrimination initially proposed: Pagan, Jewish, or Christian?

Faced with this triple choice in classification, the present-day student is baffled to observe that the Tushingham panel itself is singularly neutral and non-committal in its patterning and layout (Pl. I). For the most part very simple and familiar geometric forms are here presented in non-representational schemes and arrangements. Commonest are the circles, always carefully centered, and executed in various sizes and depths. Most prominent is the semicircle as the intervening or integrating member of the entire arrangement.

The substructure at the bottom of the plaque is plain and oblong and box-like. Is one to interpret it as an altar or a reliquary? It might be either one of these furnishings, and as such it might be either Christian or Pagan or even Jewish for that matter!

So also the crowning gable at the top, with its striations at the apex, and the circles lower down, and the mysterious curvaceous cavities at the outer angles—it too continues to be quite non-indicative. Pagans, Christians, Jews, all with equal aptitude made good use of the gable as a culminating element in religious building.

If positively the Tushingham patterns say little about the religious connections of the plaque, negatively there is also a conspicuous absence of identifying symbols and traits from this ensemble. We have already observed that very frequent and very prominent on disk plaques of the architectural class are images of the Menorah. These fit consonently with their architectural settings, and they proclaim the panel to be a Jewish piece. From

the Tushingham tablet there are lacking not only the Menorahs, but also all the other familiar Jewish symbols: Lulab, Ethrog, Shofar, Incense Shovel, Torah Scroll, etc. Equally and just as evidently all familiar and accepted Christian symbols are here absent: Cross and chrism, fish and anchor, Good Shepherd and sheep, dove and rooster and peacock, etc. By no specific symbol or device or inscription does this panel assert itself to be a Christian object. Here negative absence of evidence has unusual force and weight, for Jews earlier and Christians later were not reticent about putting identifying marks of their own on other valued disk plaques. Accordingly the negative evidence – the absence of recognizable Jewish and Christian emblems – combines with such positive evidence as there is – the sheer neutrality of most of the patterns on the panel – to suggest a careful investigation of the proposition that this may have been a pagan artifact, and accordingly itself neither Jewish nor Christian.

In order to emphasize the congeniality of the arch-and-gable type of shrine in pagan use, in the Syro-Palestinian area, and in Roman imperial times, attention is here called to the phenomenal pairs of enshrined Astarte figurines extant from this era. Repeatedly the shrine-like structure moulded in relief on Astarte plaques is a niche of the arcuated gable type, very similar to that on the Tushingham terra cotta (Pl. I), only more steeply extended to its apex. At the sides this steep gable is supported by a pair of rounded pilasters, not infrequently with rectangular dedication panels at their bases [30].

The enshrined Astartes are apparently antithetical in appearance: one group being completely nude in the familiar *pudique* manner; the other group being completely clothed in a sack-like garment that extends from neck to ankles. Whether nude or clothed, the enshrined Astarte is regularly and actually the same individual

---

[30] M. Avi-Yonah, "Oriental Elements in Palestinian Art", *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. X (1940–42), pp. 121–122, Fig. 1, Pl. XXIV, No. 2; D. C. Baramki, "Two Roman Cisterns at Beit Nattif", *QDAP*, Vol. V (1935–36), pp. 3–10, Pl. II, No. 3; Winifred Needler, *Palestine Ancient and Modern*. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum (1949), Pl. XIX, pp. 54–56; Ronzevalle, "Astarté Palestinienne", *Mélange de L'Université Saint-Joseph*, Vol. XII (1927), pp. 163–168, Pl. XXII, No. 2.

goddess. She is the Gezer type of *dea nutrix* that Macalister's publication of excavations there has long made familiar [31]. This is fully demonstrated by identities of physiognomy and hair-do and headdress and necklace that distinguish this considerable tribe of Astartes, both the clothed and the unclothed goddesses. External appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, these Astartes are all identical twins as to type. Examples of them are somewhat numerous in major archaeological collections today. Sometimes, as in the Louvre, it is possible to study side by side an unclothed and a vested Astarte, both ensconced in arcuated-and-gabled shrines that are identical or nearly so, and are not dissimilar to the Tushingham sanctuary. In the popular Near Eastern Astarte cult of the Roman period, the arch-gable type of shrine had particular association with the Astarte figurine itself, whether nude or vested in a formless one-piece garment. It was a popular pagan enframement for a popular pagan image.

On the Tushingham plaque, however, there stands no anthropomorphic imagery, least of all a *dea nutrix*, beneath the arcuated gable. This negating circumstance makes it urgent to observe carefully just what is represented beneath that intervening, semicircular arch (Pl. I). Previously we have loosely and carelessly characterized this feature as a "conch". That expression is here definitely wrong in any exact and literal, Latin or Greek, understanding of the term. What is shown here is not at all the concave interior of a bivalve seashell. Rather it is a concave semicircle patterned with the narrow, radiating, and ever-enlarging segments of a circle. The radiant flutings are not modelled from the curved and rounded ribs of a scallop shell. Rather they are formed by sharp and straight lines that isolate the segments, each one in turn. The precedent for the pattern is not marine and crustaceous; it is rather geometric and solar. The flutings as a sequence do not radiate from the hinge of a two-leaved shell. Instead they expand outward and upward from the upper two-thirds of a most carefully centered circle. This circular focus is best understood and explained as representing or suggesting the rising and/or setting sun, pausing exactly on the horizon. Sunrise or sunset is the moment here typified or symbolized.

Entirely harmonious with the sun-at-horizon interpretation are

[31] Macalister, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 309; Vol. III, Pl. CXVI.

the color phenomena that enliven the concave half circle. The expanding rays are polychrome and the colors are laid on in variform fashion. They are red and blue and yellow, though the latter color has now all but disappeared. Some of the radiating segments are in solid color, while others are dappled or striated. In a rather gay and decorative manner it does remind one of a colorful sunset or dawn, when "red at night is sailor's delight", or "red in the morning is sailor's warning".

Supplementing and re-enforcing the solar interpretation of the central concavity, are the repeated full circles engrossed above and below it on the Tushingham tablet (Pl. I). A larger and a smaller circle, respectively on the base and in the apex, once carried glass disks wherefrom the light of the sun was reflected whenever present. Also still smaller circles, precisely cocentered and done in outline only, echoed and re-echoed the perfect shape of the sun's own orb. In summary, it is the sun itself that is here symbolized and represented and glorified in the eminently religious and shrine-like setting of the Tushingham plaque. In a very simple and concentrated and efficient manner the panel seems designed to serve as a focalizing cult object for the henotheistic solar religionists of Roman imperial times. Thus today's students can best understand and assess the specific religious values of the Tushingham panel as they are indicated in the outstanding feature of its design (Pl. I). In the mid-section concavity a clear solar symbol has definitely replaced an expected conch. Therein is the main meaning of the entire design [32].

Just here it is timely to pause, if only for a moment, to recall the significance of solar henotheism, not only for Syria and the Syrians, but also for Rome and the Romans, in the third century

[32] Instructive parallels to the rayed sun pattern on the Tushingham plaque may be investigated in the enshrined lunettes on Coptic grave steles of the late imperial centuries. Among the radiate lunettes in this group of monuments the blossom-like patterns clearly represent composite flowers with expanding petals. Similarly the shell-like patterns envisage conches, properly so-called. Likewise the flat, linear, geometric patterns represent the sun disk with its expanding rays of light. See W. E. Crum, *Coptic Monuments*. Cairo (1902), Pl. XXXIV, Nos. 8595, 8596, 8597; Pl. XXXVII, Nos. 8615, 8617; Pl. XXXVIII, Nos. 8618, 8621; Pl. LII, No. 8696. The author is indebted to the Princeton Index of Christian Art for this crucial reference.

of the Common Era. Through Hellenistic and Roman times, the ancient and crude pantheism of native Syrian religion had developed into what at its best was an elevated solar henotheism. This was not a forced and abnormal process. It was a remarkably normal and natural and to-be-expected development under the circumstances of the period and area and people. The sun, conspicuously the most glorious and potent and salutary among the astronomical bodies, had become exalted and revered as the representative, the image, the embodiment of the supreme power of the universe, even of the Most High Deity. M. Cumont phrased the culminating conception thus: "The radiant star that gives us light became the visible image of the supreme power, the source of all life and all intelligence, the intermediary between an inaccessible god and mankind, and the one object of special homage from the multitude." [33]

For imperial Rome, in her religious and political policies, this theological evolution had striking and far-reaching consequences. There were times in the third century when the imperial chief of state was himself a fanatical pontiff of a Syrian sun cult, or even a statesmanly organizer and director of a henotheistic religion. Elagabalus (218–222) was the priestly princeps, named from his own sun god of Emesa. Whatever may be the ultimate and sober rating of the religious activities or eccentricities of Elagabalus, there can be no doubt of the highly deserved respect that history has accorded the Emperor Aurelian (270–275), the conqueror of the fabulous Queen Zenobia of Palmyra. He is recognized as a statesman in imperial religious policy as well as in matters political. In 273, after a triumphal return to Rome from various frontier successes, he built there a magnificent *Templum Solis*, the remains of which are still under vigorous investigation and discussion. His god Sol was a synthesis of the Graeco-Roman Helius and the Oriental Ba'alim. Here at the imperial center he was officially proclaimed as the *dominus imperii Romani* and his cult was organized to be an inclusive and unifying Roman paganism, with a special college of Roman senatorial *pontifices*. Thus an Oriental solar henotheism, established in cultic fashion under imperial auspices at the capital itself, stood out as an immediate antecedent to the ultimate triumph

[33] Franz Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*. Chicago: Open Court (1911), pp. 133–134.

of Christianity in Roman society in the century that followed forthwith.

As the matter progressed interrelatedly, solar henotheism turned out to be a long stride in direct line toward Christian monotheism, which finally became the official religion of the Roman state [34]. Even as a very minor monument of the highly auspicious and potentially promising henotheistic sun cult, the Tushingham panel possesses a distinctiveness and an interest all its own, far out of proportion to its comparatively small size. Here is a religious association item that is eminently worth knowing for its full import and for its lofty significances, both Oriental theistic and Roman imperial. In a very neat and a rather minute manner, it monumentalizes the advance of solar henotheism in the direction of the ultimately triumphant Christian monotheism of the fourth century. Concretely in the middle of the plaque itself this is accomplished by the replacement of a conch by a clear and elaborated and colorful solar symbol. Just exactly here, we reiterate purposefully, is concentrated the chief religious emphasis and import of the Tushingham tablet. To make this affirmation concrete and explicit, in detailed interpretation, is the remaining opportunity of this investigation.

VI

Having classified the Tushingham plaque as a miniature monument of the Oriental-Roman sun cult, thereby we have taken on ourselves the responsibility to state concretely and in detail just what were its religious uses. We have noted the tiny hole in its apex. Where was the panel intended to be hung? Suspended there, what religious value was assigned to it? How were people supposed to deport themselves religiously in relation to it?

In attempting to answer questions of this kind we are not indeed lacking present guidance. All the investigation and discussion of other glass disk objects constitute a capital fund of recorded scholarly experience that has more or less of relevance for the special and peculiar problems of the Tushingham panel. Formally

[34] *Idem*, "La Théologie solaire du paganisme Romain", *Mémoires présentés à L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale (1913), Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 448–479.

most close to this artifact is the considerable architectural group of plaques. In largest numbers these are Hellenistic-Jewish objects. The Menorahs carved on them accredit their Jewishness. For a period of upward to two decades these have been closely scrutinized, earlier by the formidable duo Mayer and Reifenberg [35], and later by Erwin Goodenough [36]. All three of these scholars, two of them Jewish and one of them Christian, agree on the domestic use of architectonic plaques in Jewish homes by Jewish households. One of the three, the Christian scholar, would also emphasize the cemeterial use of such tablets in Jewish tombs as well as in Jewish homes. Arguing from such concrete matters as size, structure, design, and architectonics, it seems altogether probable that the Tushingham panel, formally similar to the Jewish pieces, had like them similar dual functions, domestic and funereal, in its own *pagan* milieu. It is of course quite true that this line of inference is an extrapolation. Even so, the outcome of it calls for minute and open-minded consideration.

There is agreement, then, between leading archaeologists, Jewish and Christian, that a prime domestic utilization of disk tablets was to indicate the direction in which acts of worship should be performed. Hung on the wall of a home, the panel showed in what direction the devotee should face during the enactment of his devotions.

Here it is not necessary to labor the importance of liturgical orientation in the major religious systems of mankind. Familiar and large-scale examples are the location of the Christian altar at the "eastern" end of the church, and the placement of the Mihrab, or prayer niche, in the Mohammedan mosque so that it will mark the direction toward Mecca. The Jewish domestic equivalent for this was hanging the so-called Mizrach tablet on the east wall of a room to make explicit the orientation for prayers. Indeed the very name Mizrach meant literally "the rising of the sun" or more generally "the East".

It is familiar knowledge that so long as the temple stood in the Holy City, it was the chief determinant of direction in worship for the Sons of Israel. Increasingly from Rabbinic times onward, how-

[35] *Loc. cit.*

[36] Goodenough, *op. cit.*, I, 174–177; IV, 124–126.

ever, orthodox practise turned toward the Orient generally as the preferred direction. The purpose of the Mizrach panel was so to specify. The initial proposal of Mayer and Reifenberg was that the Dormition group of disk panels were originally thus utilized. To this nucleus Goodenough most recently added the nobly simple plaque in the Rudolf Jonas Collection in Haifa, a panel that strikingly resembles in its essentials the Tushingham artifact itself (Pl. I) [37].

Taking the cue from this familiar Jewish usage, we propose that the Tushingham tablet was a Gentile sun-cult equivalent for a Mizrach design, literally a pointer for the orientation of sun-worship. Hung on the wall of a room in a Gentile home it said: "This is the direction of the rising sun! Enact your devotions in this direction!!"

The artifact was excellently suited to such a use as this. The central rayed semicircle presented the rising sun in all its polychrome splendor. Glass disk medallions above and below exemplified the perfect shape of the sun's orb, and its origination of health-giving light.

The Jew in the presence of a disk tablet, with shrine-like design and medallions of light, felt himself to be in the presence of the Shekinah itself, the divine light-being that consecrated the very Holy of Holies in the temple, or the Torah niche in the synagogue. Not dissimilar was the experience of the Gentile sun worshipper in the presence of such a miniature sanctuary as the Tushingham panel. Here was represented to him the Divine Sun, the form and embodiment of eternal light, the supreme symbol of the ineffable and Most High God. In that presence actions of worship were the appropriate religious procedures.

Even more convincingly can the cemeterial function of disk plaques be demonstrated, along with their above-ground and domestic utilization by households. They were suspended in tombs and cenotaphs, surface and subterranean, as well as on the walls of houses. It is a fact already noted that the large majority of disk plaques are modernly recovered from tombs rather than elsewhere.

The interpretation of the funereal function of disk plaques has been worked out in reference to the main aspects of these objects that have already been stressed: the sanctuary-like character of their architectural appointments, and the symbolic suggestiveness

[37] *Idem*, Vol. IV, p. 124 f., Fig. 49.

of their glass disks. The shrine proclaimed the religiosity and sanctity of the object shown or the idea symbolized within its structure. Materially this was the glass disk that automatically reflected light, that light being the intimation or suggestion of all the richness and goodness and worthwhileness of life itself. Down in the darkness of the tomb this association was inevitably co-ordinated with the remarkably persistent human hope for a full, eternal, everlasting life for humankind, even after the apparent tragedy of physical death. The Jew in that connection thought of the Shekinah, the divine Light, as the source and guarantor of on-going life for men also. Not less realistic assurance did the pagan sun-cultist have as his very own. To him the glass disks reflected the light of the Divine Sun itself, the source of all health and well-being and goodness and completeness, now and always. Such was the wealth of religious import and implication that the devotee of the Sun could find in a solar plaque like the Tushingham tablet, even or especially in the milieu of a tomb.

In relation to the continuing hope for fulness of life after death, as well as in relation to current religious needs and interests and activities and aspirations, the Tushingham panel was effectively designed to serve meaningful functions, particularly in the experience of a Gentile devotee of the Divine Sun. Such in religious terminology is the singular solar significance of this fascinating plaque from the eastern confines of the Roman Empire in later imperial times [38].

University of Chicago

[38] It is a privilege to record merited appreciation to several colleagues on the faculty of the University of Chicago for detailed and technical assistance rendered to the author in areas of their respective specializations: to Director Carl H. Kraeling of the Oriental Institute; to Director A. Douglas Tushingham now of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto; to Curator Pinhas Delougaz of the Oriental Institute Museum; to Chm. Gertrude E. Smith of Classical Languages and Literatures; to Prof. Raymond A. Bowman of Oriental Languages and Literatures; and to Prof. Franklin P. Johnson of the Department of Art. Their friendly and unstinted cooperation has given added stimulus and zest to this delimited project in research.

Also Dr. Ernst Kitzinger, Director of Studies for Harvard University at Dumbarton Oaks, found opportunity at an extremely crowded time to read the monograph in its entirety and to give it the benefit of his very searching criticism. Needless to say the study was much improved by his sure touch.

GNOSTIC ORIGINS AGAIN

BY

R. McL. WILSON

In a previous article (V.C. IX. 193ff.), an attempt was made to grapple with the vexed question of the origins of Gnosticism, to distinguish what can be taken as certain from what is still conjectural, and in particular to urge the necessity of a greater clarity and precision in our use of terms.[1] In a sense, the problem is one of definition, but as Haenchen has observed it is not merely an academic question; it affects our whole interpretation of the origins and development of primitive Christianity. "Wäre die Gnosis älter als das Christentum, dann wäre es zum mindesten möglich, dass sie das werdende Christentum beeinflusst hat und dass 'das junge Christentum . . . als ein Bedingtes hineinverwoben' ist 'in das Netz hellenistisch-synkretistischer Religionsströmungen'".[2]

Haenchen observes that such a possibility is understandably viewed with extreme distrust in certain circles, but it may be argued that it is not mere obscurantism or conservatism for a theologian to require of those who uphold this view a clear and accurate definition of terms and a meticulous attention to chronology. There can be nothing but gain in the restoration of New Testament Christianity to its contemporary setting, in the study of the fundamental documents of the Christian faith in the light of their environment, the more particularly since, as Schweizer has remarked, "the modern world is similar in many ways to the Hellenistic world into which the Christian message entered with the proclamation of Paul." [3] But we must insist that reconstructions of this environment shall be based on

[1] Cf. Schoeps, *Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis*, Tübingen (1956), 30: Die meisten Autoren operieren nämlich mit so ungeklärten Begriffen, dass die Polemiken, die sie führen, zu Scheingefechten werden, da jeder unter Gnosis offenbar etwas anderes versteht.

[2] *Zeitschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche* 1952, 316f., quoting Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, 1.

[3] *New Testament Studies* 2 (1955) 87.

evidence, and not merely read back into the period of the early Church from a later age.

Bultmann for example quite correctly speaks of Hellenistic Christianity as 'in the maelstrom of the syncretistic process', in which 'the genuinely Christian element is wrestling with other elements'. At this early period 'orthodoxy' does not yet exist, but is still to develop.[4] The early Church quite certainly had to find a way of communicating the Gospel in terms acceptable to and comprehensible by the contemporary world, and in the process Christian thinkers and writers, like the Jews before them, adopted and adapted for their own purposes many words and phrases and ideas from their environment.[5] But, as Bultmann himself observes,' in spite of all its syncretism in detail (Christianity) retains from its origin an inherent drive toward an independent understanding, all its own, of God, world and man'.[6] In so far as Christianity remained true to its origins, all such elements derived from the thought of its environment were pressed into the service of the Gospel and subordinated to that end. On the other hand, Gnosticism 'lacks the specific characteristics of Church-consciousness: a knowledge of its solidarity with the history of the People of God and a binding tie to the document of salvation, the Old Testament'.[7]

Bultmann is, however, on much less certain ground when he claims that Gnosticism is not a phenomenon that first appeared within the Christian Church, but has its roots in a dualistic redemption-religion which invaded Hellenism from the Orient.[8] Sometimes indeed he almost seems to identify Gnosticism with the mystery religions: pre-Pauline Hellenistic Christianity 'soon branched out according to whether influences of the synagogue were operative or those of Gentile religions (especially those of the Gnostic stream)'.[9] In presenting the significance of the death of Christ, Paul 'resorted to

---

[4] *Theology of the New Testament* (English trans.) 1.171.

[5] Cf. Knox, *Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity* (1944).

[6] Op. cit,. 164

[7] ib. 107.

[8] ib. 109. There were admittedly oriental redemption religions, but no single one of them can be identified as the source of Gnosticism.

[9] ib. 63. Schoeps (op. cit. 5f.) rejects the whole idea of a pre-Pauline Hellenistic Christianity.

the categories of the mysteries and the Gnostic myth'.[10] The idea that the believer, having died with Christ, also shares in his resurrection Paul expresses 'in language that stems from the mystery religions and Gnosticism'.[11] Now it is clear enough that the ideas of the mystery cults formed one element in the development of the Gnostic theories, but it is not so clear that these cults had already attained such a widespread influence in pre-Christian times as they were later to enjoy.[12] They reached the height of their popularity, it would appear, in the second Christian century, the very period, significantly enough, which saw Gnosticism in its prime, but how far we are justified in reading back the situation of the second century into the first, or into the pre-Christian period, is to say the least very doubtful; yet this is what Bultmann does. The parallels which he draws in his section on Gnostic motifs [13] are indeed illuminating, and serve to show how New Testament passages could be, and in the second century were, interpreted by readers with a Hellenistic background; but of tangible evidence for the existence of the 'Gnostic myth' in pre-Christian times he offers not a shred. Moreover Bultmann himself notes that in the early period 'Gnosticism is combatted not as if it were a foreign, heathen religion into which Christians are in danger of apostatising. Rather, it is only dealt with so far as it is *a phenomenon within Christianity*'.[14]

The last sentence quoted should not be understood as a concession to the traditional theory, an unguarded admission on Bultmann's part that Gnosticism is no more than a Christian heresy. The statement is in fact an accurate estimate of the New Testament situation, as indeed it is an accurate estimate of the later situation also, seen through the eyes of such Christian writers as Irenaeus.[15] The only point on which some difference of opinion is possible is the descrip-

---

[10] ib. 300. See also *Primitive Christianity in its Contemporary Setting*, London 1956 (an English Translation of *Das Urchristentum im Rahmen der antiken Religionen*), esp. 189ff.

[11] ib. 345.

[12] On the relation between Christianity and the Mystery Religions, cf. Metzger in *Harvard Theol. Review* 48 (1955) lff., and references there.

[13] op. cit., 164ff.

[14] ib. 170 (Bultmann's italics).

[15] In a letter commenting on the previous article, Dr. R. A. Markus maintains that 'the basic constitutive impulse behind Gnosticism as we

tion of Paul's opponents at Corinth as 'Gnostics'. The questions with which Paul deals in his First Epistle reveal misinterpretations and misunderstandings which were later to appear in the Gnostic theories of the second century, but that at this early stage there existed any coherent body of Gnostic doctrine such as that which was in the second century to be advanced by such a teacher as Valentinus has not yet been clearly shown.

Here we touch upon the vital question. The existence of 'the maelstrom of the syncretistic process' or, as Casey called it, 'the Hellenistic melting-pot' is not in question, nor is it to be denied that in this syncretism are already to be found many of the elements which are later to appear in the developed Gnostic theories. What is denied is that we have as yet any conclusive evidence for the *combination of these elements, prior to the Christian era, into a coherent system* in any way comparable to those of the second century. Rather does it seem more accurate to trace a process of development, be-

know it from the patristic witness is extra-Christian', over against Burkitt's view (quoted V.C. IX 193, n. 3) that 'the dominant cause, the moving factor which led to the excogitation of these systems, was something inherent in Christianity'. Here also there seems to be room for clearer definition: e.g. what exactly is meant by 'fundamentally Christian' or 'essentially pagan'? What *is* a Christian heresy? It is clear enough that the Gnostic movement as a whole was wider than a merely Christian heresy, yet it is difficult to read such a book as Houssiau's *La Christologie de saint Irénée* (Louvain1955) without feeling that the Ptolemeans, no less than Irenaeus, were *Christians* seeking to present their faith to a wider world. In the result, however, it is the pagan element, not the Christian, which is the dominant factor, so much so that Irenaeus (1.10.3 Mass.) can accuse them of changing the very substance of the faith. In Dr. Markus' view, this failure of Gnosticism to grasp the redemptive history related in the Scriptures, which must be the *datum* of all Christian theology, makes it impossible to hold that Gnosticism is a Christian heresy in the proper sense, no matter what its debt to Christianity may be. Cf. his article, V.C. VIII, 219ff. Bultmann, in the context of a passage already quoted, continues: 'It is also clear that the Gnostics here opposed by no means regard the Christian congregations as a mission field which they want to convert from Christianity to Gnosticism. Rather, they consider themselves Christians teaching a Christian wisdom — and that is the way they appear to the churches too' (op. cit. 170, following the passage quoted immediately above). It would appear that *both* positions must be maintained together, i.e. that while Gnosticism as a whole is fundamentally pagan certain of the Gnostic systems owed their origin and inspiration to the effort to express Christianity in the language of the contemporary world.

ginning with the entrance of Christianity into the Graeco-Roman world, which culminated on the one hand in the Gnosticism opposed by Irenaeus, on the other, in the tradition of Paul and John and their successors, in a genuinely biblical orthodoxy. On the 'Gnostic' side of this development, the first distant rumble of the gathering storm is to be heard in First Corinthians; an incipient Gnosticism is combatted in the later books of the New Testament; but it is not until the second century that the full fury of the storm is felt. If this is correct, it is possible to envisage a parallel development in the same period, in the same general atmosphere and on the same intellectual presuppositions, outside of Christianity, but here without the impulse contributed by the Gospel.

The point is that Hellenistic syncretism is not yet Gnosticism in the second-century sense of the term. Philo is not a Valentinus, nor is Paul, though both, like the Fourth Evangelist and the author of Hebrews, are working with the language and ideas of their time, and sometimes come near to Gnosticism. To label the Hellenistic syncreticism 'Gnostic', because of the presence of the concept of γνῶσις, is to confuse the issue. We should then in fact require a new term to denote the Christian Gnostic heresy, which developed out of the Hellenistic syncretism but is not identical with it. As Kuhn has put it, with particular reference to the Dead Sea *Manual of Discipline*, "Der religionsgeschichtliche Zusammenhang ist jedoch nicht so, dass man aus den spätantiken Texten der gnostischen Literatur ein 'frühe Form der Gnosis' rekonstruieren könnte, die in noch vorchristliche Zeit zurückzudatieren wäre und aus der man dann 'gnostiches Denken' sowohl in der spatjüdischen Apokalyptik wie andererseits im Neuen Testament ableiten könnte'.[16] Comparison of the evidence at our disposal for the pre-Christian period with the theories of developed Gnosticism only serves to show that while Gnosticism grew out of the Hellenistic syncretism it was only as the result of a lengthy process. The Christianity of Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria and Origen, despite development and re-interpretation, is still recognisably the faith of the New Testament; the Gnosticism of the second century, on the other hand, is in many ways different from the syncretism of the Hellenistic maelstrom, nor are the differences

[16] 'Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion', in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 49 (1952), 315.

entirely due to the Christian element. The problem is to identify the point at which the specifically Gnostic differentiae first appear.

This is not of course to deny the possibility of a pre-Christian Gnosticism, but only to urge the necessity of a much greater precision in our definition of Gnosticism. The example of Philo on the one hand and the evidence of the New Testament on the other are enough to show that at the beginning of the Christian era there was a good deal of speculation which was already moving in the direction of what was later to be called Gnosticism in narrower sense of the word.[17] In particular, the theory of a pre-Christian *Jewish* Gnosticism seems to have much in its favour, but here the greatest care is necessary.[18] It is as yet very difficult to determine the precise stage at which speculation passes from the more or less heterodox to the definitely Gnostic.

In the article already cited Kuhn continues: 'Der religionsgeschichtliche Zusammenhang ist vielmehr so, dass der ethische und eschatologische Dualismus der Predigt Zarathustras und der iranischen Religion der Folgezeit in diese palästinisch-spätjüdische Gemeinde (i.e. the community of the Dead Sea Scrolls) Aufnahme gefunden hat und von ihr verbunden wurde mit ihrem alttestament-

[17] Principal Matthew Black (in *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 7.177ff.), after observing that the pre-Christian 'Gnostic Redeemer' proves on closer examination to be 'largely a scholar's reconstruction' from later sources, goes on to add: 'The ubiquity of the conception in the middle and further East from the second century A.D. onwards in so many forms is difficult to explain as due entirely to Christian influence.' He then adduces a piece of evidence from Shahristani concerning the Maghariya or Cave people, a sect identified by Kahle with the Essenes. The central tenet of the Maghariya was their belief in a divine-human Mediator, described as a 'god' or 'angel' but having the appearance of Adam, a belief which has links on one hand with the Philonic Logos and on the other with the Enochic Son of Man. This would seem to give further confirmation for Prof. Quispel's view that the origins of Gnosticism are to be found in Jewish heterodoxy (cf. *The Jung Codex*, ed. F. L. Cross (1955), 78; Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition, in *Eranos Jahrbuch* XXII (1954) 195 ff.). But as will appear, not everything in Jewish heterodoxy is therefore to be considered Gnostic.

[18] Cf. Schoeps op. cit. 40, who claims 'dass es innerhalb des Judentums eine *homologe* Begriffsbildung gibt, die der Gnosis entgegenzukommen oder voranzulaufen (*Quispel:* Prägnosis) scheint, in Wirklichkeit aber mit ihr überhaupt nichts zu tun hat.' See also the references cited by Davies, HTR 46 (1953) 136 n. 76.

lichen Erbe, dem Schöpfungsglauben, während die Gnosis ein *späteres* Stadium der Einwirkung des parsistischen Dualismus darstellt, wobei er von dem ganz andersartigen Einfluss des *griechischen* Denkens her umgeprägt wurde zu einem stofflichen, physischen Dualismus. Dadurch erst entstand der für die Gnosis entscheidende Gedanke, dass die *Materie*, die Welt ihrer stofflichen Substanz nach, das Widergöttliche ist.' [19]

This is a point of the first importance. Like Brownlee and Dupont-Sommer independently,[20] Kuhn compares DSD iii. 13 – iv. 26 with a passage from the Gathas, and demonstrates the dependence of the Jewish on the Zoroastrian document. At the same time, however, he notes some important points of difference, and in particular draws a distinction between the dualism of DSD and that of Gnosticism. It is to the former of these two traditions that New Testament thought belongs. In this he does not deny the influence upon the New Testament of Hellenistic thought, and in particular of motifs from the mysteries; 'aber hellenistische Mysterienreligionen und Gnosis sind zweierlei'.[21]

Despite Kuhn's argument, K. Schubert in an article contributed to *Theologische Literaturzeitung* in 1953 claims to find in this same passage of the Manual of Discipline the oldest Gnostic text at present known.[22] Could this claim be substantiated, it would be of decisive

[19] loc. cit. (Kuhn's italics). Cf. Johnson in HTR 48 (1955) 161: This dualism has been naturalized into Judaism; and although mankind is divided into two camps it is possible to pass out of darkness into light. Cf. also Winter in *Vetus Testamentum* V. 315 ff., who points out that the dualistic concept of DSD was current in the Judaism of Ben Sira's time and that Ben Sira has already assimilated it into a harmonious system.

[20] Brownlee in *BASOR* Supplementary Studies 10–12, New Haven 1951; Dupont-Sommer in *Rev. hist. Rel.* 142 (1952) 5 ff. As Kuhn observes (op. cit. 297 n. 2) this consonance of independent opinion is strong confirmation for the thesis of Iranian influence on the Essenes. Schubert, however, (TLZ 1953, 495 ff.) has some scruples about accepting this view.

[21] op. cit., 316. See also his article '*Πειρασμός-ἁμαρτία-σάρξ* im Neuen Testament und die damit zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen' in *Zeitschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche* 1952, 200 ff. especially p. 212.

[22] 'Der Sektenkanon von En Feshcha und die Anfänge der jüdischen Gnosis', TLZ 1953, 495 ff. Only when the present article had for some time been ready for the press did I have access to Millar Burrows' *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York, 1955), in which the position here adopted is independently maintained (252 ff.).

importance, but Schubert is able to advance it only by giving to the term 'Gnosis' a connotation so wide as to cover practically any religious system in which there is an element of dualism, and which professes to convey to its adherents a knowledge of the divine plan in creation and redemption. This is simply to ignore important distinctions, and it is significant that Schubert has to distinguish between a monotheistic Jewish Gnosis, represented by the sect of the Scrolls, and another Jewish Gnosis which did not hold fast to the monotheistic conception of God.[23] Admittedly the sect was in some respects unorthodox, but it is becoming increasingly clear that the Judaism of New Testament times was very far from being so 'monolithic' as was once believed.[24] Heterodoxy moreover is not necessarily Gnosticism. The Christian Gnostic sects of the second century are numerous and varied, but all present certain general characteristics; and only by the most determined reading back, and an equally determined ignoring of clear distinctions, is it possible to trace the slightest vestige of Gnosticism in DSD at all.

Gnosticism, according to Schubert,[25] is a result of the contact of Greek philosophy with oriental mythology but, as he rightly adds, not every such contact led to Gnosticism. Jewish Gnosticism in particular was preceded by the contact of Old Testament theology with Hellenistic popular philosophy, in a Jewish-Hellenistic synthesis among whose representatives he would apparently number Philo.[26] 'Die Tatsache, dass die jüdisch-hellenistische Synthese

[23] There is also, it would seem, an 'orthodox' Jewish Gnosis, on which he refers to Scholem: *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, New York 1946, 40–79 (op. cit. 499 n. 14).

[24] Cf. Quispel in *The Jung Codex*, 63. As Quispel says (loc. cit.), 'all these streams in Palestine cannot be described simply as 'Gnostic' without more ado'. Cf. Moore, *Judaism* 1.365: in condemning dualistic theories, 'the orthodox probably made no superfluous discriminations. This is no reason, however why we should be equally indiscriminate and introduce a new confusion into a perplexed matter by labelling the Jews who held such theories 'Jewish Gnostics'.' See also Schoeps op. cit. 44 ff. and Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, although the thesis of Goodenough's earlier *By Light, Light* must be received with some reserve (cf. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles* ixf. and A. D. Nock's review in *Gnomon* 1937, 156 ff.; also Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* 94 ff.).

[25] op. cit. 496.

[26] ibid. Later (op. cit. 499), perhaps by a slip of the pen, he says 'Es werde

schon in vorchristlicher Zeit nachzuweisen ist und die jüdische Gnosis diese unmittelbar voraussetzt . . . bewog zu Unrecht einige Forscher, die jüdische Gnosis und den jüdischen Hellenismus unmittelbar einander gleichzusetzen. Dies ist gewiss nicht richtig, richtig aber ist, dass die jüdische Gnosis im selben geistigen Milieu entstand, das wie gezeigt, sowohl in Palästina als auch in Alexandria gegeben war.' [27] Unfortunately, Schubert does not carry this important distinction far enough, although admittedly he claims only that DSD marks the transition: 'es den Anschein hat, dass hier der Ort ist, wo die jüdisch-hellenistische Synthese in die Gnosis überzugehen beginnt.' In point of fact it would seem more accurate to say that this point is still remote.

Schubert's next sentence is highly fallacious: 'Da aber im Sektenkanon auch Termini und Vorstellungen gegeben sind, die für die entwickelte jüdische Gnosis von En dorshin, der Hekhaloth Traktate, des hebräischen Henochbuches und des Buches Jesira charakteristisch sind und sich zum Teil auch in der ausserjüdischen Gnosis finden, ist es sicher, dass hier die jüdisch-hellenistische Synthese bereits auch eine gnostische war.' [28] On such a line of reasoning Aristobulus could be claimed as a Gnostic, on the strength of his distinction between the supreme God and the divine creative power, but this claim Schubert declines to make: 'Doch scheint ein solcher Gesichtspunkt Aristobul noch ferngelegen zu sein.' [29] The vital question is not whether the terms were later employed by the Gnostics, nor whether they can be interpreted in a Gnostic sense as they stand, but what was the meaning which they possessed for their author at the time when he wrote.[30]

---

bereits festgestellt, dass die *jüdische* Gnosis ursprünglich ein Ergebnis der Berührung von griechischer Philosophie mit orientalischer Mythologie ist' (italics mine).

[27] ib. 498.

[28] ibid.

[29] ibid (top of column).

[30] Cf. Braun in *Rev. Biblique* 1955, 31 f.: 'Certains mots tels que: lumière, ténèbres, vérité, vie, esprit, qui introduisent à une spiritualité avant tout intérieure et qui de ce chef sont irremplaçables, peuvent revêtir un sens fort différent. D'où le danger de tirer argument de mots ou d'expressions characteristiques pour conclure a l'identité de deux doctrines.' Written of the relations between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Johannine literature, this warning is no less applicable in other fields.

In point of fact, even on Schubert's presentation of the evidence there are certain features of DSD which clearly *distinguish* it from Gnosticism. As he himself puts it, the dualism of DSD is different both from the Persian and from the Gnostic: 'Über der zugelassenen Zweiheit ist die Einheit des Schöpfergottes. Dadurch unterscheidet er sich grundsätzlich von allem ausserjüdischen Dualismus, sowohl vom persischen, der zwei gleichstarke die Welt formende gegensätzliche Prinzipien kennt, als auch vom ausserjüdisch gnostischen, der den transzendenten guten Gott von dem der Schöpfung immanenten und sie bestimmenden schlechten Gott abhebt.' [31] Moreover the dualism of DSD is ethical and relative, not absolute and cosmic.

Schubert nevertheless finds here a Gnostic dualism. In the first place, 'die gesamte jüdische Gnosis der Hekhaloth Traktate und der mit dieser verwandten Literatur hält an der Einheit des Schöpfergottes fest.' [32] This raises important questions regarding the date and character of this literature, which Schubert does not discuss. Both in Hastings' ERE and in the Jewish Encyclopaedia Hekhaloth is assigned to the geonic period, not earlier than 609 A.D.[33] In both admittedly the tractate is linked with earlier work, in JE with the Essenes and in ERE with the book of Enoch, but even so there is ample room for a later infiltration of Gnostic ideas, well after the period of the Qumran sect. Here the very nature of our sources makes caution imperative on both sides. It is possible that speculations of a genuinely Gnostic kind go very far back into Jewish heterodoxy; but it is not yet conclusively proved. Certainly we cannot yet precisely date the beginnings of the process.

Schubert's second point, however, offers something more tangible: 'obwohl es hier keinen radikalen Gegensätz von böser materieller Welt und immaterieller göttlicher Lichtsphäre gibt, handelt es sich dennoch um eine Gnosis, die in der Materie sowohl den Anlass zum Straucheln und Sündigen des Menschen als auch die Sphäre für seine Bewährung erblickt, wobei letztere die Voraussetzung dafür ist, sich mystisch über die Materie hinwegsetzend in den Ort der göttlichen Ideenwelt zu vertiefen und so den göttlichen Schöpfungs- und

[31] op. cit. 498 f.
[32] ib. 499.
[33] Hastings, ERE 7. 627 b, JE 6. 332 b.

Heilsplan zu erkennen.'[34] All this is simply read into the text. W. L. Knox maintained that in certain Jewish circles the fall of Adam had been interpreted as a fall into matter,[35] and Philo quite certainly interprets the Old Testament story as 'a story of how Mind was misled by Pleasure into an unhallowed union with Sense',[36] but in DSD matter does not seem to enter into the question at all. According to the Manual of Discipline, there are two spirits, a spirit of truth and a spirit of perversity, whom God has appointed that man may walk with them until the day of his visitation, and according to their adherence to one or the other of these two spirits men are judged. There is no trace of a cosmological dualism, or of the theory that some men, and these men only, are spiritual by nature and therefore destined to salvation, whereas others are inevitably doomed. As Kuhn observes,[37] the combination of Old Testament monotheism and Persian dualism raises the problem of predestination and theodicy, but there is no reflection on this problem in our text. We are in fact only at the beginning of a process of which the Gnostic theory is one result. Again, while this world is a place of testing, this world is not to be simply identified with matter in the Gnostic sense; nor does there seem to be any mystic ascent to the realm of ideas.

Schubert himself affords a clue to the truth when he says 'Die monotheistische jüdische Gnosis sieht also *wie das Alte Testament* in der Sünde die Ursache der Mangelhaftigkeit in der Natur des Menschen, stellt ihn aber dadurch gleichzeitig in die religiöse wie ethische Verantwortlichkeit, während die dualistische, ursprünglich heidnische und dann mit alttestamentlichen und neutestamentlichen Motiven überbaute Gnosis infolge ihres absoluten kosmischen Dualismus den Menschen der Verantwortung enthebt.'[38] So far from being Gnostic, the theory of DSD stands in the same line of development as the Old and New Testaments. The dualism of the Manual belongs with *Romans* 7 and the Rabbinic doctrine of the yêtzer hâ-râ', rather than with the Gnostic theory.[39]

---

[34] loc. cit.

[35] *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles* (1939) 83, 98 f.

[36] Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (1935) 148.

[37] op. cit. 313.

[38] op. cit. 500.

[39] Cf. the articles by Kuhn already quoted; also Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic*

Schubert's reference to certain circles in Judaism which fell victim to the temptation to assume an absolute dualism raises further questions. Was Acher definitely a Gnostic? And what is the precise relation between his views and those of DSD? In any case Acher seems to belong to a period when Gnostic theories were already prevalent in the Christian Church, considerably later than the date of the composition of DSD. In the same way, if Genesis Rabbah is correctly attributed to the third century [40] it may well be that the passage to which Schubert refers is directed against the theories of Valentinus and Marcion and the later Gnostics, and not against specifically Jewish views.

Further evidence for his theory is found by Schubert in the occurrence in DSD of certain 'Gnostic' terms: דעת, מחשבת, in connection with which he adds משפט and אמת; תולדות and כבוד. 'Ferner weist die Syzygienlehre von Sektenkanon iii, 16 und 25, die in der späteren jüdischen gnostischen Literatur Parallelen hat und auf die Licht-Finsternis-Vorstellung der Sekte zurückzugehen scheint, sowie eine ausgebildete Angelologie auf Berührung mit gnostischen Elementen.' [41]

Here once more it must be emphasised that the primary question is not whether particular terms occur in Gnostic documents, nor whether they can be understood in a Gnostic sense; the primary question concerns the meaning which they had for the author at the time of writing. The chief passages dealing with 'knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls have been carefully examined by W. D. Davies,[42] and it must suffice to quote his conclusions: 'we must reject the temptation of connecting the references to knowledge in these documents with a second-century milieu when gnostic movements were a menace to Judaism, as to the Church.' [43] And again, 'when we turn to the strict content of the Hellenistic *'gnosis'* we find that it differs radically from the *da'ath* of the DSS.' Quoting from Festu-

---

Judaism (1948) 17 ff., and Johnson in HTR 1955 (Paul and the Manual of Discipline).

[40] JE 3. 62 ff.

[41] op. cit. 501 f. But a developed angelology is surely no sign of Gnostic influence!

[42] HTR 46 (1953) 113 ff. Cf. also Reicke in NTS 1. 137 ff.

[43] op. cit. 129.

gière a three-point summary of the content of Hellenistic mysticism, Davies says 'At none of these three points does the knowledge referred to in the DSS coincide with Hellenistic *gnosis*.' [44] The Scrolls, however, do emphasise their own particular kind of knowledge,[45] and indeed seem to have placed a greater emphasis on the concept of knowledge than the more strictly Jewish circles whose literature is preserved in the Old Testament; here Davies reasonably concedes the possibility of Hellenistic influence. 'It is probably safe to infer that where the DSS emerged Hellenistic influences were sufficiently strong to color the terminology of the sect without radically affecting its thought. There is a parallel in the use which the Fourth Gospel makes of Hellenistic terms while often retaining for them a Hebraic connotation.' [46]

Of the other terms which Schubert mentions, משפט, אמת and כבוד are all perfectly respectable Old Testament words, and in a Jewish context such as this must surely be interpreted in the first place in their Old Testament sense. Only when this Old Testament sense is inappropriate, or when we have evidence on other grounds that the document is in fact Gnostic, are we at liberty to interpret in the Gnostic sense. In regard to מחשבת, Schubert refers to Philo's doctrine of the *κόσμος νοητός* and kindred speculations in the Wisdom literature and in Rabbinic thought.[47] Even if his interpretation be accepted, however, it proves at most a connection with the Jewish-Hellenistic synthesis; it does not prove that the ideas in question are already definitely Gnostic. It is significant that, as Schubert himself observes, the Qumran sect did not regard the Creation as the product 'eines gefallenen Schöpfungsplanes, einer mangelhaften מחשבת – *ἔννοια* wie im simonianischen System'.[48]

---

[44] op. cit. 132, quoting Festugière, Aux Sources de la Tradition Chrétienne, Melanges offerts à M. Maurice Goguel, Paris 1950, 74 ff. Davies aptly notes that there is no trace in DSS of 'a knowledge issuing in deification —which is the end of Hellenistic *gnosis*.'

[45] ib. 133 ff.

[46] ib. 135 f. It is now however clear from the Dead Sea Scrolls that some at least of the 'Hellenistic' elements in the Fourth Gospel were already naturalised in Palestine. Cf. Braun's article, cited above (n. 30), and Albright in *The Background of the NT and its Eschatology*.

[47] op. cit. 503.

[48] ib. 504.

תולדות, finally, is interpreted in the light of iii. 19, which refers to the sources from which the 'generations' of truth and perversity derive; but 'es ist bereits an verschiedenen Stellen des alten Testaments als bekannt vorausgesetzt, dass es neben den guten auch solche Kräfte, Geister und Engel gibt, die sich dem Menschen gegenüber schadenbringend und Verwirrung stiftend äussern'.[49] Even if, as Schubert claims, the idea of a cosmic 'source of light' and 'source of darkness' goes beyond Old Testament thought, it does not seem necessary to assume any influence of a strictly Gnostic kind. As for the *Syzygienlehre*, it should be noted that, whatever its affinities with later Jewish Gnosticism, this is of a different character from the syzygies described by Irenaeus. The latter are pairs of aeons emanating from the supreme being, which in the Valentinian system, for example, form a Pleroma. Of such a theory DSD shows no sign, the 'syzygies' here being pairs of *opposites*, for which Schubert finds a parallel in Chag. 15a: 'zu allem, was der Heilige, gesegnet sei Er, geschaffen hat, machte Er auch ein Gegenstück'.[50] It is, however, questionable whether such a meaning is to be found in DSD at all. Lambert, for example, renders the two passages in question as follows: iii. 16 Et dès qu'ils existent, conformément aux décrets qui les concernent selon le dessein de sa gloire, ils accomplissent leurs oeuvres. Et immuables sont en sa main les lois de toutes choses. iii. 25 Et Lui a créé les esprits de lumière et des ténèbres et sur eux il a fondé toute action, et sur leurs voies tout service.[51]

To sum up, it would appear that there is little or nothing in DSD which cannot be accounted for on the assumption that we are dealing with an esoteric Jewish sect of a somewhat heterodox character. As Schubert puts it, 'die Gnosis von En Feshcha besteht darin, dass

---

[49] Lambert, *Le manuel de discipline du désert de Juda* (Anal. Lovan. 1951) 25/960, comments: "*tôledôt*, générations, au sens où la Genèse parle des 'générations' des patriarches."

[50] op. cit. 504.

[51] loc. cit. Cf. the renderings of Brownlee, BASOR Suppt. Studies 10–12:

3.16. And after they exist, according to their ordinances (in accordance with His glorious purpose) they fulfil their task; and nothing can be changed. Under His control are the laws of all. (Here 'ordinances' is referred to creation generally. Cf. 11.11, on which Brownlee cites John 1.3).

3.25 He created the spirits of light and darkness, and upon them He founded every work, and upon their ways every service.

die in sie Eingeweihten um Ursprung und Ziel der Schöpfung wissen und dieses Wissen als geheimen Heilsbesitz der Sekte verstanden.' [52] This, however, is very far from Gnosticism in the proper sense of the word. The value of Schubert's contribution lies in fact that he has shown how the ideas and terminology of such a sect could be taken over and developed by more definitely Gnostic groups, and how in Gnosticism 'viel altorientalisches, mythologisches Material verarbeitet wurde'; but his attempt to identify in DSD the earliest Gnostic text as yet known must be considered a failure. It may be that other documents among the Scrolls will show more definitely Gnostic features, but in the Manual of Discipline there is nothing to suggest that the Qumran sect was already Gnostic, although it had evidently been exposed to extraneous influences.

Reference has already been made to the article by Ernst Haenchen, 'Gab es eine vorchristliche Gnosis?', in which the question of the title is answered in the affirmative.[53] The system here in view is that of the Simonians, and the thesis is the more attractive in that Simon was denounced by the early Christian writers as 'the father of all heresies'.[54] Unfortunately our resources are inadequate at the crucial stage, and despite Haenchen's careful sifting of the evidence his case still seems to fall short of conclusive proof.

Haenchen begins with the extracts in Hippolytus from the Simonian *Μεγάλη 'Απόφασις*, of which he says 'Man darf nicht Aussagen der Grosse Verkündigung ohne weiteres dem historischen Simon zuschreiben'.[55] This is in fact a document from a late stage in the development, when the Simonian system has become philosophical instead of mythological, and an attempt has been made to integrate other religions, including Christianity, into its basic scheme.[56] An

[52] op. cit., 502.

[53] Zeitschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche, 1952, 316 ff.

[54] Cf. Casey in *Beginnings* 5.151 ff. Schoeps, op. cit., 36, observes that in Simon we find the Gnostic myth in its relatively simplest form. Cf. also Quispel, *Gnosis als Weltreligion* 51 ff.

[55] op. cit. 327 n.l.

[56] ib. 336 ff. It should be noted that, if Haenchen is correct, this late and developed system is apart from Christianity: 'auch innerlich ist es dem Christentum ganz fern' (ibid). In other words, there was a movement of assimilation, represented in the system described by Justin and Irenaeus, but in the *Μεγάλη 'Απόφασις* this trend has been left behind (cf. ib. 349).

earlier mythological stage appears in the account of Irenaeus, but this also belongs to a period not earlier than the second century A.D., and therefore has nothing to do with the historical Simon.[57] This mythological system is substantially that described by Justin still earlier, although the attempt to assimilate Christian and other ideas has led to certain modifications. It is thus possible for Haenchen to trace the process of development from Acts to the theory described by Hippolytus. Simon's original doctrine was that the angelic powers had imprisoned the divine Ennoia in the souls of men, and that in his own person the 'great Power', the father of Ennoia, had descended to redeem mankind and set Ennoia free.[58]

The difficulty is that we have no conclusive evidence for the crucial stage of the development. As Haenchen observes, it has been held that Simon in the earliest tradition was purely and simply a magician, and certainly in the narrative of Acts there is nothing to suggest that he was more than a charlatan like Alexander of Abonoteichus.[59] Following Foerster, however, Haenchen claims that apart from Mani 'sind keinem der Sektenstifter göttliche Aspirationen zugeschrieben worden.' Simon therefore was not promoted from magician to divine redeemer, but degraded in Christian tradition from divine redeemer to plain magician.[60] But on this point there is scope for some difference of opinion.

In an article dealing with Gnosticism in Egypt, Dr. W. C. Till [61] traced out the relationship between the various Coptic Gnostic texts which are at present available for examination, and arranged them in a chronological sequence from the *Apocryphon Johannis* to *Pistis Sophia*. The significant feature here is that in Till's opinion the Gnostic *Weltanschauung* was originally built upon a philosophic basis, but in the decline of the Gnostic sects sheer fantasy gained control. If Till and Haenchen are both correct, we must therefore assume that Gnosticism, originally mythological, became for a period more or less philosophical, and then relapsed once more into

---

[57] ib. 339 n.l.

[58] ib. 348.

[59] For Alexander, see Nock, *Conversion* 93 ff., and cf. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem* 305 n. 20.

[60] ibid.

[61] *La Parola del Passato* 1949, 230 ff.

mythology; and certainly this would appear to have been the case. Haenchen has shown the development of the Simonian system, while in favour of Till's opinion is the fact that the *Apocryphon Johannis* in a Greek version was already known to Irenaeus,[62] whereas the other documents seem definitely later, Pistis Sophia in particular considerably so. Here, however, we have to account for the fact that the Simonian system in Irenaeus is still mythological, while the Apocryphon is philosophical. A comparison of the *Apocryphon Johannis* with the Simonian system in its various stages, indeed, might produce some interesting results. The promised publication of the *Gospel of Truth* would then admit of further comparisons, for example to test Quispel's claim that Valentinus hellenised and Christianised an earlier vulgar Gnosis.[63]

It is evident that much remains to be done before we can reach a clear understanding of the development and mutual relationships of the various Gnostic sects, but it is also evident that progress will be greatly hampered, if not impossible, without careful attention to details of definition and chronology. In the light of the foregoing discussion, however, certain conclusions seem already well established. In the first place, the Gnostic movement as a whole is fundamentally un-Christian, although it was only in so far as Gnostic ideas gained a dangerous foothold within the Church that they attracted the attention of Christian writers. On the other hand, it would appear to be clear that some of the Gnostics themselves were originally Christians, and in their own view remained the only true Christians. The movement as a whole appears to be more or less contemporaneous with Christianity,[64] although its roots go back a great deal further into Hellenistic syncretism. Since practically the entire Near East has made some contribution,[65] it seems hardly worth the trouble to attempt to specify the more ultimate origins, and attention may therefore be concentrated on the problem of isolating the more immediate antecedents. The fact that earliest forms,

[62] Schmidt, 'Irenaeus und seine Quelle in Adversus Haereses 1.29' in *Philotesia* (Berlin 1907) 315 ff. For the Coptic text see now Till, *Die Gnostische Schriften des Koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis* 8502 (TU 60, Berlin 1955).

[63] *Gnosis als Weltreligion* 11 f. On the *Gospel of Truth* see *The Jung Codex* (ed. F. L. Cross, London, 1955).

[64] 'etwa gleichzeitig mit dem Christentum' (Schoeps op. cit., 35).

[65] Quispel op. cit. 9.

as we find them behind such later New Testament documents as Colossians, the Pastorals and the Johannine literature, and in Ignatius, appear to be of a Jewish character suggests the possibility of a pre-Christian Jewish Gnosticism.[66] This suggestion derives a certain confirmation from some features in the work of Philo, although Philo himself is not in any proper sense a Gnostic. The alleged Gnostic elements in the *Manual of Discipline*, again, prove on examination to be still some way removed from Gnosticism, although it may well be that the doctrines of the Qumran sect, like those of other 'Baptist' sects[67] (and similar esoteric groups in the pagan world), prepared the ground for the development of Gnosticism in the proper sense of the word.

The complexity of the problem is increased by the fact that the Gnostic theories of the second century and afterwards are clearly the outcome of a long process. How much of the later Simonian theories, for example, goes back to Simon himself is an open question but as Haenchen's study shows it is possible to trace a distinct development. Some of the theories may therefore be much closer in their origin to orthodox Judaism or to Christianity, so that clear distinctions are some times very difficult. One possible criterion is suggested by Davies' remark, that the Dead Sea Scrolls 'probably emerge from a milieu in which Judaism had been invaded by Hellenistic terminology, which had not, however, modified its essential nature'.[68] In Gnosticism, as Irenaeus saw, this modification (so far as Christianity is concerned) has already taken place.

R. McL. WILSON

St. Mary's College,
St. Andrews

---

[66] Cf. Cullmann in JBL 1955, 213 ff.; and for Ignatius, Molland in JEH 5 (1954) 1ff.

[67] Cf. Thomas, *Le Mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie* (1935).

[68] HTR 46 (1953) 139.

See also the following, published since this article went to the press: G. Quispel, Het Johannesevangelie en de Gnosis, in *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 11, 173ff.

R. McL. Wilson, Simon, Dositheus and the Dead Sea Scrolls, in ZRGG IX (1957) 21ff.

AD RUST. HELP. BENEF. 110 ET 114

SCRIPSIT

D. KUIJPER Ff.

Eum in finem Deus Pater [1] – sic disserit auctor – voluit a Iesu suscitari quosdam mortuos, ut ostenderet, quid cunctis suis conferre iam tunc pararet [2] Agni pretioso sanguine. Non enim contentus ante reatum prae ceteris creaturis favisse homini, Deus etiam tum, cum eramus *νεκροὶ τοῖς παραπτώμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις* [3], dilexit nos propter nimiam caritatem suam. Ergo hoc modo, editioni principi si fidem habemus, auctor Deum adloquitur [4]:

> *motus manantibus olim*
> *subvenis et primi medicata labe reatus*
> *extinctas animas et corpora functa reducis*
> *in caelum legesque pias, non suavibus herbis*
> *messis et emeritae nec mollis vestis honore,*
> *fulgida Sidonii quam polluit unda veneni,*
> *pellibus aut Libycis redimens aut mercibus Indis*
> *progeniem stirpemque tuam, sed sanguine sacro.*

V. 110 viri docti recentiores ad unum omnes coniecturam recipiunt, quam proposuit W. Brandes [5]: *morbis manantibus olim* [6]. Quae coniectura mihi minime placet: non laedit vox *motus*, i.e.

---

[1] Rust. Help. benef. 94 *summe pater.*

[2] Rust. Help. benef. 103.

[3] Laudo Eph. 2, 1.

[4] Rust. Help. benef. 110/7.

[5] W. Brandes, Des Rusticius Helpidius Gedicht de Christi Iesu beneficiis. Kritischer Text und Kommentar. Progr. Nr. 673 Braunschweig, Braunschweig, 1890, p. 7 et p. 12.

[6] Ita verba transfert W. Brandes, o.l., p. 12: 'hilfst du der von Alters weiter und weiter sich verderbenden Sündennoth ab'; ita D. H. Groen, Rusticii Helpidii carmina notis criticis, versione batava commentarioque exegetico instructa, spec. litt. inaug. Groning., Groningae, 1942, p. 25: 'brengt gij genezing voor de ziekten, die vroeger rondwaarden'; ita F.

σπλαγχνισθείς, laedit vox *manantibus*. Quamobrem equidem lego: *motus animantibus olim/subvenis*, i.e. 'misericordia motus iis, qui ante reatum vivebant, nunc mortui sunt delictis, subvenis'. Syllaba in *-us* desinens in arsi saepe producitur [7]; ante *animantia* ectasis etiam invenitur Eugen. Tolet. hex. 156 *cum natura parens gignit animantia terris*.

Altera difficultas latet in v. 114, ubi coniecerunt W. Brandes [8]: *messis Emisenae* vel *aromaticae*; F. Corsaro [9]: *messis Achaemeniae*; L. Alfonsi [10]: *messis Erythreae*. Editionis autem principis lectio *et* [11] *emeritae* bene explicari potest. Legimus enim Gloss. Lindsay I Ansil. EM 36, p. 200, col. 2: *Emereor* : *complaceo*; III Abstr. EM 18, p. 33, col. 2: *Emereor* : *compl*[*ac*]*eo* [12]; V Abba EM 15, p. 56, col. 2: **Emereor* : *complaceo* (*-pleo*?). Quas glossas rectas esse mihi compertum est animadvertenti verba LXX gen. 17, 1 *εὐαρέστει ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ καὶ γίνου ἄμεμπτος* ita translata esse Itala gen. 17, 1 (Ambr. Abr. 1, 4, 27 p. 522, 1/2) *emerere* [13] *in conspectu meo et esto sine querella*. Unde colligo 'herbis suavibus et messis emeritae' intellegendas esse *βοτάνας ἡδεῖς καὶ ὀπώρας εὐαρέστου*.

Den Haag, Hanenburglaan 38a

Corsaro, Elpidio Rustico, Catania, [1955], p. 140: 'Tu rechi sollievo ai mali che una volta da ogni parte incalzavano'.

[7] Cf. Rust. Help. benef. 54; Sedul. carm. pasch. 1, 120; 4, 46; 4, 107; Drac. laud. dei 1, 293; Romul. 6, 60 etc.

[8] W. Brandes, o.l., p. 13, qui *messis* pro 'odorum' stare recte ostendit; cf. Sen. Herc. O. 795; Stat. silv. 2, 6, 87; 3, 3, 34; Mart. 3, 65, 5; Claud. 10, 93; 21, 58; Mar. Vict. aleth. 1, 239; Sedul. carm. pasch. 5, 325; Drac. laud. dei 1, 309; 1, 438.

[9] F. Corsaro, o.l., p. 140; cf. p. 164.

[10] L. Alfonsi, Note ad Elpidio Rustico, Vigil. christ. 10, 1956, p. 41.

[11] *Et* coniectura niti putat adparatu Corsariano in errorem inductus L. Alfonsi, l.l.; cf. autem G. Fabricius, Poetarum veterum ecclesiasticorum opera christiana, Basileae, [1564], col. 758.

[12] Uncinis litteras *ac* iniuria inclusit editor H.-J. Thomson, falso cum arbitraretur glossam ortam esse ex altera glossa EM 21: *Emeritus miles: qui iam conplevit militiam* ....

[13] Ambrosius ipse quomodo vocem intellexerit, ex his verbis effici potest: Ambr. Abr. 1, 4, 27 p. 521, 21/522, 2 *deus* ..., *quia alia eius* (=Abrahae) *merita probaret* ..., *dixit illi*: ... *emerere* ..., *quasi adhuc non plene emeruisset*, i.e. usque in finem meritis suis se probatum (*εὐάρεστον*) praestitisset.

REVIEWS

Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew*, Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis XX, Uppsala 1954, C. W. K. Gleerup, Luna; Ejnar Munksgaard, Copenhagen. 249 p. p. Pr. 18 Swed. crowns.

The main theme of this very interesting and important study is the "Sitz im Leben" of the Gospel of Matthew. In the first chapter, entitled "The School", the author considers the views of other writers about this problem of 'form-criticism', first of all that of Martin Dibelius. In his well-known *Formgeschichte*, the German scholar treats the gospel material from the point of view of preaching (*'Predigt'*). This term covers either all the activities of the Church through which it promoted its message or, in a more concrete sense, the sermon proper. Stendahl considers the former interpretation too vague and abstract, the latter too one-sided. He also rejects the view of Kilpatrick, according to which the formation of Matthew's gospel is determined by liturgical points of view. In Stendahl's opinion, there are two chief weaknesses in this standpoint: 1. "a liturgical recitation of gospels or gospel material in the period presumed by K. (65–100 A.D.) is by no means an unchallenged fact" (which automatically includes the rejection of the extreme hypothesis of Carrington, "The Primitive Christian Calendar", 1952) and 2. "the first gospel lacks the character of a liturgical text". S. prefers, therefore, to assume a didactic purpose, such in accordance with the well-known view expressed in Von Dobschütz's paper "Matthäus als Rabbi und Katechet" (ZNW, 1928). Matthew should therefore be compared with the Manual of Discipline in the Qumran-Texts (DSD) and with the Didache. Mt remains a gospel, to be sure, but the pattern he used in systematising his material, was that of a handbook. S. advances several arguments in favour of this view: a typical trend towards casuistry in the gospel concerned (Mt. 5, 31–32; 19, 9), the reflection on the duties of the leaders of the Church, the arrangement of the words of Jesus under five headings, and the for his viewpoint very important and repeatedly cited passage Mt. 18, 10–35. All these characteristic features point to a milieu of study and instruction.

To strengthen his hypothesis, the author adduces other arguments, *viz.*, the dates concerning the Christian scribe (Mt. 23), the possible links with the practice of the synagogue (which was not only a house of worship but also a school), and the appearance of *ὑπηρέται* in the New Testament Church. All these considerations lead to the result, "that the Matthaean school must be understood as a school for teachers and church leaders" (p. 35). From this general point of view a careful analysis is undertaken of the quotations in Mt. from the Old Testament with the mainly twofold

purpose "to throw light upon the relations between the sources and their development, and to see how the form of the quotations helps to explain the milieu of the gospel." The result of this thorough inquiry is discussed in the next chapter. Special attention is given to two points, firstly to the relevance of the different versions of the Old Testament for the whole problem, and further to a comparison of the so called 'formula quotations' in Matthew and the pesher manner of quoting Scripture in the Habakkuk Commentary from Qumran. In Stendahl's opinion, there is a close affinity between the hermeneutical methods and formulas of DSH and Matthew.

By one thing and another S. is confirmed in his view that there exists 'an unbroken line from the School of Jesus' via the "teaching of the apostles", the "ways" of Paul, the basic teaching of Mark and other *ὑπηρέται τοῦ Λόγου* and the more mature School of John to the rather elaborate School of Matthew with its ingenious interpretation of the O.T. as the crown of its scholarship".

Evidently the significance of this theory for the quotations of the "Testimonies" could not be passed and is therefore discussed in the last chapter.

In the opinion of the reviewer, the study of this book may be highly recommended: the careful investigations in the main chapters, the clear formulation of problems concerning the "Sitz im Leben", and innumerable details are of great value. Nevertheless, one cannot but feel that here, as in many other studies of 'formcriticism', the hypothetical factors to be used are fairly numerous. Besides the question rises whether this approach is perhaps too one-sided and cannot be combined more closely with Kilpatrick's hypothesis. Further, it seems evident that the difference between Mt. and DSH is greater than is supposed here (cf. the review by Bertil Gärtner in Studia Theologica 1955, pp. 1–24). Finally, I would like to refer to the study of J. W. Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, Assen, 1953, which may prove important for several aspects of the reviewed book.

Leiden, Witte Singel 61 G. SEVENSTER

The Septuagint Bible. The Oldest Version of the Old Testament in the Translation of Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Continental Congress of the United States of America, 1774–1789, *as Edited, Revised and Enlarged by* C. A. Muses M.A., Ph. D. (Columbia). The Falcon's Wing Press, Indian Hills, Colorado; 299 Madison Ave., New York City, 1954. XXVI + 1426 pp. Pr. $ 6.50.

Charles Thomson (1729-1824), a personal friend of Franklin, Washington, and Jefferson, and in his time a prominent Greek scholar, made the first translation of the Septuagint into English, a work which took him about

twenty years. It was published at Philadelphia in 1808, and *verbatim* reprinted at London in 1904 by S. F. Pells, who was unacquainted with the fact that Thomson himself had made a not inconsiderable number of corrections in his own copy of his work, which is now to be found in the library of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Mr. Muses has adopted Thomson's addenda and corrigenda wherever, in his opinion, they are to be regarded as improvements. But he has done much more, which is best recorded in his own words (Foreword, pp. XII–XIII): "We have confined ourselves to changing Thomson's work only where the facts of the text required it, or where another translation was called for preferentially by the oldest manuscript tradition. In several instances we have corrected Thomson's wording. Where the oldest surviving manuscript of any feasible length for the basis of a recension—the *Codex Vaticanus*, No. 1209 (termed *B*) is lacking, best readings have been supplied from the next oldest portion of the manuscript tradition, depending for principal authority in this respect on the Sinaitic and Alexandrine codices, and the editors of the Sixtine text. Since Thomson omitted additional material in the Book of Esther found in the Septuagint Bible, we have restored it to its proper place in the text . . . The editor is fully responsible for the new matter in the Book of Esther now appearing in the Thomson translation, and we have tried to make our reading at least conformable to his general style and standard of accuracy". But this is not all: "In presentation, as distinct from translation, Thomson's text suffers in some respects. It was necessary to repunctuate and paragraph practically the entire Old Testament, as well as to remove inconsistent spellings, all in all amounting to thousands of improvements." The editor deserves high praise indeed for a rare combination of tact and accuracy: without doing any damage to the really majestic style of Thomson's translation, he has yet made it into a work which, as the reviewer has learned from a detailed comparison of several chapters—among them the particularly difficult eighth chapter of *Proverbs*—with the original, will also render services to the present-day scholar.

Leiden, Witte Singel 91 J. H. WASZINK

Jan-Olof Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit* 445-700. (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, 4^0, XIX, 1) I. Papyri 1–28. Lund, Gleerup 1955; 522 pp.

Voici le premier volume d'une publication qui en comprendra trois, deux de textes avec introductions, traductions et commentaires, un de fac-similés. Celui-ci a servi de thèse de doctorat de l'Université d'Uppsala. Il est malaisé de faire le compte-rendu d'une étude de si grande envergure en se basant sur une partie seulement. Il s'y ajoute que les lecteurs de cette revue seront spécialement intéressés aux textes à publier dans le deuxième volume qui comprendra notamment les documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Église. Il

est impossible d'autre part de contrôler l'exactitude des transcriptions tant qu'on n'a pas sous les yeux les planches du volume III.

Ceci n'empêche qu'on peut se faire une idée complète de ce que l'auteur s'est proposé de faire, et une idée approximative de ce qu'il a réalisé.

Son intention est des plus louables. Il a entrepris une tâche utile et nécessaire: donner une édition définitive des documents sur papyrus conservés jadis dans les archives archiépiscopales de Ravenne et disséminés actuellement dans des dizaines de collections. À part quelques fragments, dont il est rendu compte dans l'Introduction (p. 64 ss.), ils sont actuellement encore au nombre de 55: trois concernent l'administration des domaines, trois autres sont des testaments, il y a une désignation de tuteurs, un reçu, un acte d'affranchissement d'esclave; les 19 autres que contient ce vol. I sont des donations, souvent à l'église de Ravenne. Les documents privés montrent que les archives de l'archevêque jouaient entre autres un rôle comparable à celui du notariat; on y trouve même des textes qui n'ont pas été écrits à Ravenne.

L'éditeur nous renseigne en détail sur l'historique de la collection, sur les éditions et l'état actuel des textes. On constate qu'il s'est donné toutes les peines du monde pour rendre son travail aussi complet que possible. Il a eu raison, à notre avis, de n'admettre dans son édition que les textes dont l'original existe encore.[1] Pour les autres on pourra toujours consulter les éditions antérieures, auxquelles rien ne peut être ajouté, à part quelques conjectures. Mais il a droit à notre reconnaissance toute spéciale pour le soin qu'il a mis à réunir toutes les données relatives même aux documents disparus. Il donne, de cette manière, plus que le titre ne promettait.

L'Introduction est, avant tout, de nature paléographique; on y trouve toutes les indications nécessaires concernant le *ductus* des lettres, la typologie, les abréviations. Mais on y trouve en outre un relevé des particularités d'orthographe et de prononciation. Je me demande si l'auteur a eu raison, en les étudiant, de limiter à quelques notes les indications extrêmement curieuses fournies par les subscriptions latines en caractères grecs; elles sont dues à des témoins de nationalité grecque qui ont écrit sous la dictée [2]; elles nous semblent très utiles pour définir quelques aspects, non seulement de la prononciation du latin à cette époque, mais encore de celle du grec.

Le groupe 10-28, qui comprend les donations, donne lieu à une introduction spéciale (p. 250 ss.). L'auteur y étudie les types anté- et postjustinien et insiste avec raison sur les grands changements que Justinien a apportés à la structure de ces actes. Chaque élément formel est étudié séparément; l'influence byzantine est régulièrement mise en évidence. La partie généralement indiquée du nom de *arenga* comprend les idées usuelles: la donation se fait pour mériter sinon la vie éternelle, du moins une indulgence; une fois (no. 21) il y a, selon l'hypothèse très vraisemblable de l'éditeur, une allusion à l'Évangile selon Mathieu 19,29; le no. 12 indique que la donation se fait pour obtenir un

[1] Le no. 17 est conservé par une inscription reproduisant l'original perdu.

[2] Pas toujours, puisque même des abréviations s'y retrouvent, p.ex. 16, 39 σσταρουμ = *s(upra)s(crip)tarum.*

caveau dans l'église; celle du no. 17 se fait, non à une église, mais aux sacristains d'un sanctuaire à Rome, et celle du no 23 à la personne d'une abbesse. Les serments se font p. ex. par Dieu tout-puissant et les Évangiles (que la donatrice tient en main, 20), ou par le jugement dernier (13). On constate que les donations faites à la seule cathédrale de Ravenne sont situées dans des parties relativement éloignées de l'Italie.

Il convient de noter que les documents ne sont pas toujours les actes de donation même. Plusieurs d'entre eux sont des extraits de *gesta municipalia*, qui constatent que l'acte a été dûment enregistré par les autorités municipales; dans ce cas l'extrait comprend — quand le texte n'est pas mutilé — une copie de l'acte original.

Une bibliographie très ample et des index relatifs aux textes publiés dans ce volume s'ajoutent à un commentaire qui note brièvement, mais avec grande précision, les particularités de langue, de matière, et d'interprétation qui ont besoin d'un éclaircissement. Souvent le doute reste; dans ce cas l'éditeur s'abstient sagement d'assertions non fondées.

L'examen de ce premier volume permet de conclure que c'est un travail très consciencieux, très complet et très utile, qui constitue une base solide et, en pratique, définitive pour l'étude de ces textes difficiles, et pour lequel son auteur mérite les éloges les plus sincères.

Leiden, van Beuningenlaan 20 B. A. VAN GRONINGEN

Eusebius' Werke VII: *Die Chronike des Hieronymus*. Herausgegeben und in zweiter Auflage bearbeitet im Auftrage der Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin von R. Helm. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1956.

Im Vorwort des zweiten Teiles der *Chronik* schrieb R. Helm, acht Jahre nach dem ersten Weltkriege, dass er nur unter dem Zwange der Verhältnisse sein Manuskript noch einmal abgeschrieben hatte, um so durch Vermeiden des Satzes die Unkosten zu verringern und das Erscheinen der Ausgabe überhaupt zu ermöglichen. Diese Mönchsarbeit ist ihm, elf Jahre nach dem zweiten Kriege, erspart geblieben. Nicht nur für den zweiten Teil, der vom Herausgeber für den Druck fertig gestellt worden war, sondern auch für den Textband, den er 1913 selber geschrieben hatte, ist jetzt an Stelle der mechanischen Vervielfältigung des handgeschriebenen Manuskriptes der Druck getreten. Benutzer dieses unentbehrlichen Buches werden für diese zweite Ausgabe und für die neue Methode der Veröffentlichung ebenso dankbar sein. Es ist jedoch zu bedauern, dass die beiden Teile jetzt in einem Bande vereinigt sind. Wenn man den Text und die Quellen miteinander vergleichen will, ist man jedesmal gezwungen, im selben Buche verschiedene Stellen aufzuschlagen. Diese zeitraubende Mühe würde dem Leser erspart

gewesen sein, falls auch jetzt die zwei Teile in zwei Bänden herausgegeben worden wären.

Über die Einleitung lässt sich mehr sagen als über den Text, zumal da Helm sich bemüht hat, nur ganz wenige Änderungen in den Text und in den kritischen Apparat anzubringen. Obwohl der Herausgeber auch früher dem Armenier skeptisch gegenüberstand, könnte die Tatsache, dass die Jahresangaben des Armeniers im Apparat dieser zweiten Auflage fortgelassen sind, unter dem Einfluss anderer Meinungen zustande gekommen sein. Von allen Kritikern Helms soll an erster Stelle Ed. Schwartz erwähnt werden. Die scharfe Trennung, welche dieser Gelehrte zwischen Eusebius und Hieronymus annahm, hat er vielleicht am schärfsten ausgedrückt, als er von den bedenklichen Folgen der lateinischen Übersetzung sprach, nämlich, dass jede historische Notiz auf ein bestimmtes Jahr bezogen werden muss, eine Absurdität, die Eusebius nicht zuzutrauen sei; Schwartz leugnete deshalb, dass Eusebius das schwerfällige Zahlengerüst des Kanons überhaupt aufgestellt habe (K.G. II 3, Chronol. p. CCXXXIV). Schon in der ersten Ausgabe hat Helm diese Meinung energisch bestritten, und er hat jetzt nichts daran hinzugefügt (p. XXXVIII). Die Kritik, die er, ungeachtet seiner grossen Bewunderung, an Fotheringham geübt hat, ist in der neuen Ausgabe bedeutend abgeschwächt (z.B. „Darum ist der Versuch Fotheringhams leicht irreführend" usw., ein Satz, der in der zweiten Auflage fehlt; ebenso p. XIX). In der überarbeiteten Einleitung sind obendrein die Paragraphen über die Manuskripte gekürzt, weil die vielen Beispiele, z.B. die Fehler der S-Klasse, nicht mehr alle angeführt worden sind.

Andererseits waren gewisse Ergänzungen nicht zu vermeiden. Natürlich hatte der Herausgeber seine Lage klar darzulegen hinsichtlich Erich Caspars *Die älteste Bischofsliste*, 1926, in welcher dieser behauptet, dass der Kanon „durch Hieronymus eine entstellende Bearbeitung erfahren hat, deren Einzelheiten sich noch paläographisch feststellen lassen, so dass der Weg zu einer Rekonstruktion des eusebianischen Urbilds offensteht" (p. 210). Also vertritt Caspar hinsichtlich des Formproblems des Kanons einen mittleren Standpunkt zwischen Schwartz, der meinte, dass der Kanon in der echten eusebianischen Urform unwiederbringlich verloren war, und Helm, der ebenso wie Fotheringham in der vorliegenden lateinischen Übersetzung ein getreues Abbild des Originals sah. An drei Stellen hat Helm jetzt in seiner Einleitung auf die Arbeit Caspars Rücksicht genommen. Erstens betont er, dass es ein vergebliches Bemühen ist, eine Typendifferenzierung in der Schrift festzustellen, um daraus, wie Caspar es tat, „Unterscheidung der Zeilenführung der Notizen von dem konstanten Zeilensystem des Rahmenwerkes zu erschliessen und weiter zu folgern, dass eine annalistische Fachwerkeinteilung der spatia historica durch die Jahreszeilen der fila des Rahmens nicht bezweckt war" (XXII). Zweitens entkräftet er die Behauptung Caspars, dass die doppelseitige Anlage des Kanons auch über die Rückkehr der Juden aus der Gefangenschaft fortgesetzt sei (XXXIV). Schliesslich gibt er am Ende eine kurze Zusammenfassung, in der er seine

früheren Erörterungen, speziell gegen Caspar, handhabt, und die ich mir erlaube hier folgen zu lassen: „Nur als einen Fehlgriff Caspars kann man es aber betrachten, wenn er aus den zweifellos erkennbaren Mängeln mancher Fixierung und der allgemeinen Bestimmung bei anderen nicht fest datierbaren Ereignissen den Schluss zieht, dass bei Hieronymus überhaupt eine feste Datierung und ein annalistischer Zwang nicht existiert habe, wobei er sich freilich selbst widerspricht wenn er zugibt dass „fest datierte Ereignisse" „auch im Originalkanon bei bestimmten Jahren gestanden haben müssen". Entgegen der von C. vertretenen Ansicht muss daran festgehalten werden, dass die annalistische Anlage bei der Bearbeitung des Hieronymus durchaus beabsichtigt war" (XLIV–XLV). Mit den Hypothesen Caspars hat Helm sich am Ende seiner gründlichen Studie *Hieronymus' Zusätze in Eusebius' Chronik und ihr Wert für die Literaturgeschichte*, Philol. Suppl. XXI, Heft 2, 1929, — eine Arbeit die man immer neben seiner Einleitung zu Rate ziehen soll —, ausführlicher auseinandergesetzt. Es ist vielleicht angebracht, an dieser Stelle ebenfalls hinzuweisen auf Helms vorzügliche Verhandlung über die Verwertung lateinischer Geschichtsdarstellungen im Original des Eusebius, zwei Artikel, *Hieronymus und Eutrop*, im Rheinischen Museum (LXXVI, 1927, 138, 254), in welchen er die berühmten Auseinandersetzungen Mommsens (Ges. Schr. VII, 606ff.) vollkommen überzeugend korrigiert hat. Mit zu grosser Bescheidenheit hat er in der neuen Einleitung diese epochemachende Leistung nur ganz beiläufig erwähnt (XXVI).

Helm selber hat 1926 mit warmen Worten der internationalen Zusammenarbeit, sogar in Kriegszeiten, gedacht. Man kann es dahingestellt lassen, ob der Frieden von Versailles, wie er meinte, die Ursache der Notwendigkeit war, auch den zweiten Teil in einer mechanischen Wiedergabe seines eignen Manuskriptes herauszugeben. Vielleicht war Helm, ebenfalls gereizt durch Fotheringhams Ausgabe „mit ihrem prachtvollen Aussehen", hier den Alliierten gegenüber ungerecht. Trotz dieser schmerzlichen Erinnerung hat er in dieser selben Einleitung Fotheringham geehrt, was damals bemerkenswert war; Helm zeigte, dass die Wissenschaft keine Landesgrenzen kennt. Während des zweiten Weltkrieges und nachher war er von denselben hohen Gedanken erfüllt. Auch der deutschen Akademie, die in der Vergangenheit mittels zahlreicher Ausgaben, von denen nicht zuletzt die der Reihe *Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller den ersten Jahrhunderte* zu erwähnen ist, den Beweis geliefert hat, über die nationalen Differenzen hinweg sehen zu können, gebührt der Dank aller jener, die ihre Arbeit der letzten Jahren haben beobachten können.

Leiden, De Laat de Kanterstraat 15 B W. DEN BOER

BOOKS RECEIVED

(The inclusion of a book in this list, which contains the titles of all books received by the editors, does not guarantee its subsequent review).

Analecta Gregoriana, Vol. LXX (Series Facultatis Historiae Ecclesiasticae), Sectio A (n. 3). Studi sulla Chiesa antica e sull'Umanesimo (Studi presentati nella Sezione di Storia Ecclesiastica del Congresso Internazionale per il IV Centenario della Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 13–17 ottobre 1953). Romae, apud aedes Universitatis Gregorianae, 1954.

Compostellanum, Seccion de Estudios Jacobeos. Vol. I, num. 1/2 (Santiago de Compostela, 1956).

Tertullian's Treatise on the Incarnation. The Text edited with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary by Ernest Evans. London, S.P.C.K., 1956. xliii, 197 pp. Pr. 32/6.

A. Grillmeier S.J., Der Logos am Kreuze. München, Max Hueber Verlag, 1956. XII, 151 pp. Pr. DM 12.80.

Den Heliga Birgittas Reuelaciones extrauagantes, utg. av Lennart Hollmann (Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet. Andra Serien, Latinska Skrifter, Band V). Uppsala, Almquist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1956. 247 pp. Pr. 20 Swed. crowns.

Philoxène de Mabboug, Homélies. Introduction, traduction et notes par Eugène Lemoine (Sources Chrétiennes, No. 44). Paris, Editions du Cerf, 1956. 564 pp.

Gotthard Nygren, Das Prädestinationsproblem in der Theologie Augustins. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956. 307 pp. Pr. bro. DM. 19.80.

P. A. van Stempvoort, Decorum, orde en waardigheid in het Nieuwe Testament. Nijkerk, G. F. Callenbach N.V., 1956 (inaugural address at Groningen University). 28 pp.

L'ETOILE DE JACOB
ET LA MISSION CHRETIENNE A DAMAS

PAR

JEAN DANIÉLOU

L'importance des recueils des *Testimonia* dans la première communauté chrétienne a été depuis longtemps signalée, en particulier par Rendel Harris. Cerfaux a montré comment fréquemment à travers certains de ces textes la théologie archaïque avait trouvé son expression. Mais ces affirmations ont trouvé une éclatante confirmation dans les découvertes de Qumrân. Elles montrent en effet que des recueils analogues existaient dans le judaïsme. Et, fait plus remarquable encore, qu'ils étaient déjà constitués en partie des mêmes textes. Du coup l'intérêt des *Testimonia* pour rattacher le christianisme à son milieu originel devient considérable. Nous voudrions le montrer à propos de *Num.*, XXIV, 17.

La présence de la prophétie de Balaam sur «l'étoile de Jacob» dans les *Testimonia* primitifs a été dès longtemps supposée. En effet le texte est mentionné par Justin et par Irénée, chez qui l'on s'accorde à voir l'utilisation de recueils plus anciens. Toutefois le texte n'est pas explicitement cité dans le Nouveau Testament. On pensait toutefois y reconnaître plusieurs allusions. Mais la chose était contestée. Or il semble qu'on puisse la considérer comme tranchée, du fait que le texte est sans doute le plus fréquemment cité dans les manuscrits de Qumrân. Il jouissait donc d'une popularité particulière à l'époque où s'est constitué le Nouveau Testament. Nous avons d'abord à établir ce premier point.

Les manuscrits de Qumrân actuellement publiés présentent plusieurs citations de notre texte. Dans *DSW*, *Num.*, XXIV, 17 est cité intégralement et appliqué à David (XI, 6). Il est possible

également que *DS W*, VI, 6 et XVI, 1 y fasse allusion [1]. La *Bénédiction du Prince de la Congrégation* utilise un recueil de *Testimonia* concernant le sceptre (שבט) où sont associés *Is.*, XI, 4 et *Num.*, XXIV, 17 (I *Q Ben.*, V, 27) [2]. Plus remarquable encore est la présence de *Num.*, XXIV, 15–17 dans un recueil de *Testimonia* où il est associé à *Deut.*, V, 28–29 et à *Deut.*, XXXIII, 8–11 [3]. On remarquera dans ces deux derniers cas le groupement de notre texte avec certains autres.

Une dernière mention est spécialement intéressante. C'est celle du *Document de Damas*. Nous devons citer tout le passage: «Quand les deux maisons d'Israël se séparèrent, Ephraïm quitta Juda; ceux qui se détournèrent furent livrés à l'épée, mais ceux qui restèrent fermes échappèrent vers le pays du Nord, suivant la parole: J'exilerai le *sikkuth* (tente) de votre roi et le *kiyyum* (piédestal) de vos idoles au delà des tentes de Damas (*Amos*, V, 26–27). Le roi est l'assemblée et le *kiyyum* des idoles ce sont les livres des prophètes, dont Israël a méprisé les paroles. L'étoile est l'interprète de la Loi qui vint à Damas, comme il est écrit: Une étoile sortira de Jacob et un sceptre se lèvera d'Israël (*Num.*, XXIV, 17). Le sceptre c'est le prince de toute la congrégation. Quand il se lèvera, il détruira tous les fils de Seth» (VII, 12–21).

Nous aurons à revenir sur ce texte. Qu'il suffise pour le moment de faire trois remarques. En premier lieu le passage de la citation d'*Amos*, V, 26 à celle de *Num.*, XXIV, 17 s'explique par le fait que le texte authentique d'*Amos* porte: «Kiyyum, vos idoles, l'étoile de votre Dieu». Le *CDC* cite librement, mais fait allusion au texte authentique. En second lieu «l'étoile» qui désignait David dans *DS W*, le Messie davidique dans I *Q Test.*, est ici appliqué de façon singulière à «l'Interprète de la Loi» [4] au pays de Damas, qu'il s'agisse du Maître de Justice ou d'un autre. Enfin nous constatons que les deux citations d'*Amos* se retrouvent dans les *Actes des Apôtres*. La première, qui fait partie d'ailleurs d'un recueil de

---

[1] Carmignac, Les citations de l'A.T. dans la guerre des Fils de lumière contre les Fils de ténèbres, *R.B.*, LXIII (1956), p. 238 et 245.

[2] *Qumran Cave*, I, pp. 128–129.

[3] Allegro, Further messianic references in Qumran Literature, *J B L*, LXXXV, (1956), pp. 182–187.

[4] Voir H. Riesenfeld, *Jésus transfiguré*, p. 227.

Testimonia de Qumrân (4 *Q Flor*, 3) [5], est dans la bouche de Jacques, à propos de la conversion des Gentils (XV, 16–17). Le texte donné par *Act.*, diffère des LXX, mais est le même que celui du *CDC* et de 4 *Q Flor*.

Par ailleurs le texte d'*Amos*, V, 26–27 se trouve dans le discours d'Etienne (*Act.*, VII, 42–43). On imagine difficilement qu'une citation si singulière ait été faite par Etienne sans dépendance du *CDC* ou des dossiers de Qumrân. La citation d'Etienne est conforme au texte des LXX. Elle comprend cependant une curieuse correction. Au lieu d'«au delà de Damas», le texte dit «au delà de Babylone». Or il est très curieux que Rabinowitz, étudiant la citation d'Amos dans le *CDC*, pense que Damas y désigne en réalité Babylone. [6] Il est à croire que cette interprétation d'Amos existait déjà dans l'exégèse juive au temps du Christ. Nous y reviendrons.

Mais nous devons d'abord continuer notre enquête en abordant les *Testimonia* chrétiens. Leur étude est décisive. La prophétie de *Num.*, XXIV, 17 apparaît à plusieurs reprises. Un premier texte présente un spécial intérêt, parce qu'il constitue la charnière entre Qumrân et le judéo-christianisme, ce sont les *Testaments des XII Patriarches*. Que l'on y voie avec de Jonge un ouvrage proprement chrétien ou qu'on reste fidèle à la doctrine des interpolations, il reste que sous sa forme actuelle, c'est un ouvrage chrétien. Or la prophétie de *Num.* s'y rencontre textuellement deux fois dans des contextes importants.

La première citation se trouve dans *Test. Lévi*, XVII, 3. Elle se présente ainsi: «*Ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον αὐτοῦ (= ἱερέα καίνον) ἐν οὐρανῷ ὡς βασιλέως φωτίζων φῶς γνώσεως.*» De Jonge observe que la manière dont la citation est présentée paraît comporter une allusion à *Mth.*, II, 2, l'étoile des mages [7]. En effet dans le texte de *Num.* l'étoile désigne le Messie lui-même. Ici elle désigne un astre qui apparaît et qui est le signe de la venue du Messie. Ceci est souligné par les mots *ἐν οὐρανῷ* que l'on retrouvera à propos de l'«étoile des mages» dans Ignace, *Eph.*, XIX, 2 et Justin, *Dial.*, CVI, 4. L'allusion au «roi» renvoie aussi à *Math.*, II, 2. Enfin l'expression

[5] Allegro, *loc. cit.*, p. 176.

[6] The Damaskus (Zadokite) Fragments, *J B L*, LXXIII (1954) pp. 26–33.

[7] *The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, p. 154.

ἄστρον αὐτοῦ rappelle *αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα* du même passage. La fin de la citation est empruntée à *Os.*, X, 12. On notera enfin que l'application de la prophétie de l'étoile au Messie prêtre est étrangère aux documents de Qumrân, sauf peut-être au *CDC*. Elle paraît supposer l'unité chrétienne du Messie à la fois prêtre et roi.

La seconde citation est dans le *Testament de Juda*, XXIV, 1: «*Ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακώβ καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης*». La citation est conforme aux LXX, qui lisent *ἄνθρωπος* pour שבט. On notera le rapprochement avec *Mal.*, IV, 2. Ce rapprochement est peut-être aussi supposé dans la fin de *Test. Lev.*, XVIII, 3 «*ἐν ἡλίῳ ἡμέρα*». *Mal.*, IV, 2 se retrouvera aussi dans la collection des *Testimonia* chrétiens.

La présence de *Num.*, XXIV, 17 dans les recueils de *Testimonia* archaïques est par ailleurs attestée par l'usage qu'en font les plus anciens auteurs qui usent des *Testimonia*. Le premier est Justin. C'est par référence à notre texte qu' «étoile» est mentionnée dans la liste des titres traditionnels du Christ: «Il est nommé étoile *(ἄστρον)* par la bouche même de Moïse, Orient *(ἀνατολή)* par celle de Zacharie, bâton *(ῥάβδος)*, fleur *(ἄνθος)*, pierre angulaire *(λίθος ἀκρογωνιαῖος)*» (*Dial.*, CXXVI, 1). On notera que *ῥάβδος* et *ἄνθος* viennent d'*Is.*, XI, 1, que nous avions déjà trouvés rapprochés de *Num.*, XXIV, 17 dans les dossiers de Qumrân.

Ce rapprochement se retrouve dans un autre passage de Justin: «Un autre prophète, Isaïe, annonce la même chose en d'autres termes: Une étoile se lèvera de Jacob et une fleur poussera sur la tige *(ῥίζα)* de Jessé. Cette étoile lumineuse qui se lève, cette fleur qui pousse sur la tige de Jessé, c'est le Christ» (I *Apol.*, XXXII, 12–13). On remarquera que *Num.*, XXIV, 17 et *Is.*, IX, 1 sont fondus en une seule citation attribuée à Isaïe. Ce type de citations composites, fréquent dans la toute première littérature chrétienne, en particulier chez le Pseudo-Barnabé, est caractéristique de l'appartenance des textes aux *Testimonia*.

Une troisième citation de Justin va nous apporter d'autres éléments: «Moïse lui-même a donné à entendre qu'il devait se lever comme un astre de la race d'Abraham. Voici ses paroles: Un astre se lèvera de Jacob et un chef *(ἡγούμενος)* d'Israël. Et une autre Ecriture dit: Orient *(ἀνατολή)* est son nom (*Zach.*, VI, 12). Aussi lorsqu'un astre se leva dans le ciel à sa naissance, comme

il est écrit dans le *Mémoires des Apôtres*, les mages d'Arabie, reconnaissant l'évènement, s'en vinrent et l'adorèrent» (*Dial.*, CVI, 4). On notera la traduction *ἡγούμενος* pour שבט. Justin se sépare ici des LXX et se rapproche du texte hébreu. Peut-être a-t-il été influencé par *Gen.*, XLIX, 10, qui fait partie du même groupe [8] et où *ἡγούμενος* traduit «bâton de commandement» dans les LXX. Le mot apparaît aussi dans *Mich.*, V, 1, d'après *Mth.*, II, 6.

La prophétie de *Num.* comporte ici deux rapprochements intéressants. Le premier concerne *Zach.*, VI, 12. Dans les LXX, *ἀνατολή* y traduit צמח, c'est-à-dire «surgeon». C'est également le cas dans III, 8 et dans *Jer.*, XXIII, 5. Or Justin entend le mot au sens de «levant», qui est également possible. Il semble, comme l'a remarqué Schlier, que ceci soit dû à l'influence d' *ἀνατελεῖ* dans *Num.*, XXIV, 17, avec lequel les *Testimonia* le groupaient [9]. Le sens donné par Justin à *Zach.*, VI, 12 serait donc une nouvelle allusion à *Num.*, XXIV, 17.

Mais cette allusion semble être plus ancienne que Justin. D'une part en effet Philon cite *ἀνατολή* comme un des noms du Logos, en l'entendant au sens de «levant». Or ceci paraît bien déjà se référer à *Zach.*, VI, 12 interprété en fonction de *Num.*, XXIV, 17. C'est sans doute aussi de la même manière qu'il faut interpréter l'expression *ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὕψους* de *Lc.*, I, 78. En effet l'expression paraît bien se référer à la désignation du Messie comme «surgeon qui vient de Dieu» d'après *Zach.* et *Jér.* Et d'autre part *Lc.* I, 79 montre que le mot est associé à l'idée de lumière. Ainsi *Lc*, I, 78 comprendrait lui aussi une allusion indirecte à *Num.*, XXIV, 17 et serait à ajouter à notre dossier des allusions au texte.

D'autre part le texte de Justin apporte un autre élément d'un très grand intérêt: c'est le rapprochement qu'il établit entre *Mth.*, II, 1 et *Num.*, XXIV, 17. Nous avions déjà vu que le *Testament de Lévi* établissait une relation entre «l'étoile de Jacob» et «l'étoile des mages». Ici Justin va plus loin et voit dans l'étoile des mages la réalisation de la prophétie de Balaam. Nous aurons à nous interroger sur la relation des deux thèmes.

L'ensemble des éléments que nous avons réunis jusqu'à présent

---

[8] Voir I *Apol.*, XXXII, 1.

[9] *Ἀνατολή*, *T W N T*, I, 355.

nous a montré que *Num.*, XXIV 17 se présentait avec une remarquable continuité dans un certain nombre de contextes précédant immédiatement et suivant immédiatement le Nouveau Testament. Il est donc certain qu'il faisait partie des *Testimonia* que le christianisme primitif a reçus de la communauté de Qumrân. Il est donc a priori certain que le texte faisait partie du dossier utilisé par les auteurs du Nouveau Testament. Cependant celui-ci ne le cite jamais explicitement. Mais la question se pose de savoir s'il n'y fait pas allusion. Il nous faut donc examiner les cas où cette allusion est possible.

Le premier est l'*Apocalypse*. Le thème de «l'étoile du matin» *(ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ πρωϊνός)* y apparaît deux fois. L'expression par elle-même n'est pas décisive. Toutefois nous remarquerons que dans le premier passage (*Apoc.*, II, 26–28), l'allusion à l'étoile du matin est précédée d'un citation du *Psaume* II, 8: «Je lui donnerai puissance sur les nations et il les régira avec un sceptre *(ῥάβδος)* de fer». Or dans *Num.*, XXIV ,17, l'étoile et le sceptre sont associés. Mais par ailleurs *Num.*, XXIV, 17 faisait partie d'un dossier sur le sceptre, que nous avons déjà rencontré à Qumrân et qui comprenait *Gen.*, XLIX, *Is.*, XI, 1–5 (*I Q Ben.*, V, 24–28). *Psaume* II, 8 devait en faire partie. Dès lors «l'étoile du matin» paraît devoir elle aussi être interprétée en fonction de ces *testimonia* et se référer à *Num.*, XXIV, 17.

Or ceci nous est confirmé de façon certaine par le second passage de l'*Apocalypse*, XXII, 16: «Je suis la racine *(ῥίζα)* et la race de David, l'étoile brillante du matin *(ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ λαμπρὸς ὁ πρωϊνός)*». Ici en effet «la racine» est une citation *d'Is.*, XI, 1, comme le confirme l'expression «la race de David». Or *Isaïe XI*, 1 était associé dans les *Testimonia* à *Num.*, XXIV, 17, comme l'atteste le passage de Justin que nous avons cité et qui unit les deux citations dans une citation composite attribuée à *Isaïe*. Cette citation composite est sûrement à la base *d'Apoc.*, XXII, 16. Donc l'étoile du matin se réfère ici sûrement à *Num.*, XXIV, 17. Et ceci confirme qu'il en est également de même dans *Apoc.*, II, 26.

On peut se demander si l'épithète *πρωϊνός* n'est pas elle aussi une allusion à *Num.*, XXIV, 17, qui confirmerait la dépendance. En effet nous lisons dans ce texte «*ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον*». Le verbe *ἀνατέλλειν* évoque l'idée d' *ἀνατολή*, comme nous l'avons déjà re-

marqué. Or *ἀνατολή* peut se référer à une détermination locale: il signifie alors «levant», «orient». Mais il peut se référer aussi à une détermination temporelle: il signifie alors «lever (du soleil)», «aurore». En ce sens le mot est voisin du sens de *πρωΐ*. Et comme *ἀνατολή* n'a pas d'adjectif usuel correspondant, on comprend que *πρωϊνός* soit employé pour en tenir lieu.

Ceci nous permet sans doute alors de voir également une allusion à *Num.*, XXIV 17, dans un autre texte du N.T., II *Petr.*, II, 19. Après avoir rapporté le récit de la Transfiguration, l'auteur continue: «Et nous avons comme appui solide (de notre espérance) la parole prophétique, vers laquelle vous avez raison de vous tourner comme vers une lampe brillant dans un lieu obscur, jusqu'à ce que le jour brille et que l'étoile du matin se lève *(φωσφόρος ἀνατείλῃ)* dans vos cœurs». Le mouvement de la pensée semble être celui-ci: la Transfiguration est une anticipation de la lumière eschatologique; nous attendons la venue de cette lumière en nous appuyant sur la parole prophétique qui annonce que le Jour brillera et que l'Etoile du matin se lèvera. En d'autres termes nous pensons que l'allusion au Jour et à l'Etoile du matin doit être référée à *προφητικὸς λόγος*.

Or les deux expressions sont associées dans les dossiers archaïques, comme l'atteste Justin. Nous pouvons comparer en effet *Dial.*, C, IV: «Il est appelé Sagesse, Jour, Aurore» et CXXVI, 1: «Il est appelé Sagesse par la bouche de Salomon, Etoile par celle de Moïse, Aurore par celle de Zacharie». Il est clair que nous avons la même séquence et qu'Etoile et Jour font l'un et l'autre partie du dossier. Leur rapprochement dans II *Petr.*, II, 19 paraît supposer ce dossier. Nous avons traité ailleurs des textes bibliques à quoi renvoie le titre Jour.[10] Celui d'Etoile, comme l'affirme explicitement Justin, vient de *Num.*, XXIV, 17. Il en vient donc aussi dans II *Petr.*, II, 19. L'expression d'ailleurs «*φωσφόρος ἀνατείλῃ*» paraît l'écho d'«*ἄστρον ἀνατελεῖ*». Ceci n'est pas sans intérêt pour l'interprétation même de la Transfiguration qui apparaît à l'auteur de l'*Epître* comme la réalisation anticipée de la prophétie de *Num.*, XXIV, 17, c'est-à-dire de la gloire du Messie davidique.

Ainsi l'analogie des contextes où l'étoile est mentionnée dans ces divers passages et où nous la voyons mentionnée à Qumrân

---

[10] Mélanges Renée Bloch, *Cah. Sion.*, 1957, (à paraître).

et dans les *Testimonia* judéo-chrétiens ne paraît pas permettre de douter qu'elle se rattache là comme ici à *Num.*, XXIV, 17. Reste un dernier texte qui pose un problème particulier, celui de *Mth.*, II, 2, 9 et 10, c'est à dire l'apparition de l'étoile aux Mages. Eric Burrows pense que «la description peut comporter une réminiscence de *Num.*, XXIV, 17»[11]. Il observe que Balaam vient *ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν* (*Num.*, XXIII, 7) et que l'expression se retrouve pour les mages (*Mth.*, II, 1). Ceci marque une relation entre Balaam et les mages sur laquelle nous reviendrons. Par ailleurs Krister Stendahl note que *Num.*, XXIV, 17 est le seul texte de l'Ancien Testament où דרך soit traduit par *ἀνατέλλειν;* dès lors l'expression de *Mth.*, II, 2 et 9 *ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ* peut s'y référer.[12] Du coup *ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ* doit signifier «à son lever» et non «à l'orient»: cette dernière expression serait traduite *ἐν ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς*. Ainsi la description de l'étoile peut s'inspirer de *Num.*, XXIV, 17. Ceci d'ailleurs ne met pas en question l'historicité de l'épisode.

Or cette hypothèse paraît confirmée par le fait que l'étoile des mages a été mise en relation avec la prophétie de Balaam dès la tradition la plus archaïque. Nous en avons déjà rencontré des témoignages dans le *Testament de Lévi* et dans Justin. On en retrouve chez Irénée (*Adv. haer.*, III, 9, 3 et *Dem.*, 58; *P.O.*, XII, 784–785). Mais surtout Origène va apporter un élément de grand intérêt, en établissant une relation entre Balaam et les Mages: «Les Mages, voyant un signe venu de Dieu dans le ciel désirèrent voir ce qu'il désignait. Je pense qu'ils possédaient les prophéties de Balaam rapportées par Moïse» (*Contr. Cels.*, I, 60).

De même ailleurs: «Si les prophéties de Balaam ont été introduites par Moïse dans les livres sacrés, à combien plus forte raison ont-elles été accueillies par les habitants de la Mésopotamie, chez lesquels Balaam avait grande réputation et qui sont connus comme ses disciples en magie. C'est à lui que la tradition fait remonter dans les pays d'Orient l'origine des mages, qui, possédant chez eux le texte de toutes les prophéties de Balaam, avaient entre autres: Une étoile sortira de Jacob et un homme se lèvera d'Israël. Les mages possédaient ce texte chez eux. Aussi, quand naquit

[11] *The oracles of Jacob and Balaam*, p. 98.
[12] *The school of S. Matthew*, p. 136.

Jésus, ils reconnurent l'étoile et ils comprirent que la prophétie était accomplie» (*Ho. Num.*, XIII, 7).

Le point intéressant ici n'est pas la légende fantastique selon laquelle les Mages auraient conservé les oracles de Balaam. Mais il est dans la relation même entre les mages et Balaam. Or ici Origène témoigne de traditions orientales qui lui sont antérieures, comme l'ont montré Franz Cumont et Joseph Bidez; Balaam a été identifié dans certaines traditions orientales avec Zoroastre le fondateur des mages [13]. De toutes manières Balaam était considéré comme un mage [14]. Du coup une relation nouvelle apparaît entre la prophétie de *Num.*, XXIV, 17 et *Mth.*, II, 2. Ce n'est plus seulement l'étoile qui est commune, mais aussi le fait que l'une et l'autre concernent le milieu des mages, c'est-à-dire des prêtres iraniens.

Nous avons rassemblé l'ensemble des allusions à *Num.*, XXIV, 17 que la littérature chrétienne archaïque nous offre. La question se pose maintenant à nous de savoir s'il est possible de préciser le contexte auquel se rattachent ces allusions le *Sitz im Leben* de l'emploi de la prophétie dans le christianisme primitif. Nous pouvons partir de la dernière indication à laquelle nous étions parvenus: en rapprochant *Num.*, XXIV, 17 et *Mth.*, II, 2, Origène soulignait la relation du Messie et de l'étoile avec un milieu qui était en contact avec les Mages. Or ceci nous est confirmé par un certain nombre d'autres textes.

Le premier est celui d'Ignace d'Antioche dans *Eph.*, XIX, 2–3: «Comment donc ces mystères (la virginité de Marie, la nativité du Christ, la Passion) ont-ils été manifestés aux sphères. Un astre brilla dans le ciel plus que tous les autres et sa lumière était indicible et sa nouveauté *(καινότης)* étonnait et tous les autres astres avec le soleil et la lune se formèrent en chœur autour de l'astre. Et ils étaient troublés, se demandant d'où venait cette nouveauté si différente d'eux-mêmes. Alors était détruite toute magie *(μάγεια)* et tout lien de malice aboli, l'ignorance était dissipée et l'ancien royaume ruiné».

---

[13] *Les mages hellénisés*, I, 48–49.

[14] H. J. Schoeps, *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit*, pp. 249–254.

On a cherché à ce passage des origines dans un mythe gnostique [15]. Il paraît bien plutôt qu'on y a l'écho de plusieurs *testimonia*. Cabaniss y a reconnu l'influence de *Sap.*, XVIII, 14–16 [16]. Goulder et Sanderson renvoient pour l'allusion au soleil et à la lune à *Gen.*, XXXVII, 9 [17]. L'accent mis sur l'éclat extraordinaire de l'étoile se retrouve dans *Protev. Jac.*, XXI, 2 et dans *Or. Sib.*, XII, 30–34. Enfin, comme dans Irénée, l'étoile apparaît comme surgissant au milieu du ciel.

Mais le trait le plus important du texte pour nous – et qui est aussi celui qui établit de façon certaine sa relation avec *Mth.*, II, 2 – est l'allusion à la magie. L'apparition de l'étoile coïncide avec la conversion des mages. Peut-être avons-nous une allusion sous-jacente à l'idée que les mages pratiquaient l'astrologie et croyaient que le destin était régi par le cours des astres. L'étoile qui apparaît représente la destruction de la domination exercée par les astres sur l'humanité.

L'ensemble de ces thèmes se trouve groupé dans un passage du gnostique Théodote, cité par Clément d'Alexandrie (*Exc. Theod.*, 69–75). Le texte décrit d'abord la nature du Destin, qui résulte de l'action des astres. Le Seigneur nous arrache à lui: «C'est pour cette raison, qu'un astre étranger et nouveau *(ξένος ἀστὴρ καὶ καινός)* s'est levé *(ἀνέτειλεν)*, détruisant l'ancienne ordonnance des astres, brillant d'une lumière neuve, qui n'est pas de ce monde, comme l'a fait le Seigneur lui-même «(74). Cet astre est celui que les Mages ont reconnu, grâce à leur connaissance de l'astrologie: «Non seulement les Mages virent l'étoile du Seigneur, mais ils surent qu'un roi était né» (75). C'est leur science astrologique qui leur a permis d'interpréter le signe de l'étoile.

La même idée est reprise par Origène de façon curieuse. Selon lui les Mages tirent leur pouvoir des démons. Mais si quelqu'un de plus divin apparaît, le pouvoir des démons est anéanti et donc les actions magiques ne peuvent plus s'accomplir. Or «c'est précisément ce qui arriva à la naissance du Christ, quand une multitude d'anges loua Dieu; l'effet fut que les démons perdirent leur force.

[15] Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen über Ignatius von Antiochen* pp. 14–15.

[16] Wisdom, 18, 14 f; an early christian text, *V C*, X (1956), pp. 100–101.

[17] St Luke's Genesis, *J T S*, N S, VIII (1957), p. 26.

Aussi quand les mages voulurent accomplir leurs pratiques ordinaires, ils cherchèrent la raison pour laquelle elles n'opéraient plus. Voyant un signe de Dieu dans le ciel, ils cherchèrent à savoir ce qu'il signifiait. Je pense qu'ils possédaient les prophéties de Balaam» (*Contr. Cels.*, I, 60).

Il est notable que cette interprétation se trouve déjà dans Justin: «La parole d'*Isaïe*: Il prendra la puissance de Damas et les dépouilles de Samarie (VIII, 4), signifiait que la puissance du mauvais démon, qui habitait à Damas, serait vaincue par le Christ au moment même de sa naissance; et c'est ce qui est manifestement arrivé. En effet les mages, comme des dépouilles *(ἐσκυλεύμενοι)* avaient été entraînés à toutes sortes de mauvaises actions auxquelles les avait poussés ce mauvais démon; ils vinrent, adorèrent le Christ et apparurent dégagés de cette mauvaise puissance qui les avait conquis, comme on conquiert des dépouilles» (*Dial.*, LXXVIII, 9).

On notera qu'*Isaïe*, VIII, 4 se retrouve deux autres fois dans Justin, intercalé dans *Isaïe* VII entre les versets 16^a et 16^b (*Dial.*, XLIII, 6; LVI, 3). Or nous savons que ces citations composites ont en général un caractère archaïque. Nous l'avons remarqué pour le bloc *Num.*, XXIV, 17 et *Is.*, XI, 1. Il est donc vraisemblable que le bloc que nous avons ici est également archaïque et remonte à la communauté judéo-chrétienne [17bis]. Ainsi la tradition dont témoignent Justin et Origène sur la victoire du Christ sur les démons, dont les mages étaient les captifs, remonte à la tradition primitive.

Il semble donc bien que le développement du thème de l'étoile dans le judéo-christianisme soit en relation avec des contacts avec ces mages. En termes plus précis, le lieu naturel, le *Sitz im Leben* de la doctrine de l'étoile serait à chercher dans des groupes chrétiens se trouvant en relation avec ceux-ci. Il serait normal de leur parler de l'étoile, soit à cause de son rapport avec Balaam, soit à cause de son lien avec l'astrologie. Le thème de l'étoile serait un thème de la mission judéo-chrétienne auprès de milieux où les mages étaient influents.

Mais avons-nous raison de penser qu'il en soit ainsi. Parlons d'abord de la communauté de Qumrân. L'influence toute particu-

[17bis] Th. Schneider, Das prophetische Agraphon der Epistola Apostolorum, *Z N W*, XXIV (1925), p. 153.

lière qu'y exerce le dualisme iranien sous la forme précise de la doctrine des deux *mayniu* a été fortement soulignée par K. G. Kuhn[18]. Elle suppose un contact des hommes de Qumrân avec les Mages. Mais peut-on préciser dans quelles conditions a eu lieu ce contact? Nous savons que les Mages iraniens étaient répandus en Orient et surtout en Syrie au début de l'ère chrétienne[19]. Or ceci nous rappelle un fait qui nous ramène au cœur de notre sujet. Parmi les diverses mentions qui sont faites de *Num.*, XXIV, 17 dans les manuscrits sadocites, il en est une, nous l'avons dit, qui a une particulière importance: c'est celle du *Document de Damas*. Le fait déjà est intéressant et semble marquer qu'on s'intéressait spécialement à Damas à la prédiction de *Num.*, XXIV, 17.

Mais le contexte de la citation est encore plus important. En effet l'auteur commence par une citation d'Amos où le thème de l'étoile et celui de Damas sont explicitement rapprochés: «Vous porterez Sikkuth, votre roi, et Kiyyun, votre idole, l'étoile de vos dieux que vous vous êtes fabriquée et je vous exilerai au delà de Damas» (IX, 11). Je cite d'après le texte hébreu. Le *Document* ne mentionne pas l'étoile dans la citation, mais la preuve qu'il l'a présente à l'esprit est qu'il continue: «L'Etoile, c'est celui qui scrute la Loi, qui est venu au pays de Damas, comme il est écrit: Une étoile est sortie de Jacob» (*CDC*, VII, 14–18).

Ceci nous laisse peut-être entrevoir quelque chose des contacts entre les sadocites et les mages iraniens. En effet, les manuscrits de Qumrân, en particulier ceux où le dualisme est le plus accusé, comme le *Manuel* ou le *Combat*, apparaissent postérieurs au séjour à Damas. On serait donc tenté de croire que c'est à l'occasion de l'exil de la communauté à Damas, après 63, qu'elle a pris contact avec les doctrines iraniennes. Et celui qui en a été l'instrument est précisément «l'Etoile», celui en qui on voit réalisée la prophétie de Balaam. Annoncée par l'ancêtre des Mages, cette Etoile a été manifestée aux Mages.

Il est vraisemblable par ailleurs que lors du retour d'exil et de

---

[18] Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion, *Z T K*, XLIX (1952), pp. 296–316.

[19] Bidez–Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, I, pp. 217–218; A. D. Nock, Paul and the Magus, dans Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The beginnings of christianity*, V, pp. 164–188.

l'installation à Qumrân, une partie des sadocites est restée à Damas, sans cesser d'ailleurs d'être en relation avec les rapatriés. Or ici intervient à nouveau une curieuse donnée, qui est due à Lurie. Il rappelle que la secte sadocite n'était pas fixée à Damas même (*CDC*, VIII, 21; XX, 12). Il émet l'hypothèse que son habitat ait été à 15 km. au sud-ouest dans un bourg nommé *Kokba*[20]. Or Kokba signifie «l'Etoile». N'y aurait-il pas lieu de voir là un lien avec *Num.*, XXIV, 17?

Or certains indices semblent le montrer. Une des plus curieuses figures du milieu juif à l'époque des origines chrétiennes est Dosithée, le maître de Simon le Mage. R. Mcl. Wilson a montré qu'il fallait sans doute voir en lui un essénien:[21] il est présenté par Epiphane comme sadducéen, ce qui est sans doute une confusion pour sadocite; il pratiquait le sabbat de façon très stricte; il avait une vie ascétique; il s'appliquait la prophétie *Deut.*, XVIII, 15, chère aux sadocites; il était en contact avec Jean-Baptiste. Or, d'après le Talmud, il demeurait à Kokba[22] et par ailleurs il se considerait comme l'Etoile annoncé par *Num.*, XXIV, 17[23].

Mais ceci nous conduit à une remarque nouvelle. Dosithée est le maître de Simon le Mage. Celui-ci s'est séparé des Esséniens pour fonder une secte dualiste. Il est difficile de ne pas voir là une influence iranienne. Or le nom même de Simon le confirme. Il est un Mage au sens strict du mot, c'est-à-dire un disciple, hétérodoxe d'ailleurs, de Zoroastre. Sa «magie» n'est qu'un aspect de cette qualité. Ce lien est confirmé par une remarque de Schoeps. Celui-ci, s'appuyant sur plusieurs indices, conclut que Simon est désigné sous la figure de Balaam dans la légende juive[24].

Ainsi Simon nous apparaît comme un disciple du sadocite Dosithée, converti par les Mages au dualisme. Tout ceci tend à nous montrer que le thème de l'étoile, la prophétie de Balaam, a pour centre de développement la partie de la communauté essénienne restée à Damas. Celle-ci gardait d'ailleurs des contacts avec

---

[20] Voir R. North, Compte-rendu de «Eretz Israël, IV», *V D* XXXV (1957), p. 49.

[21] Simon, Dositheus and the D S S, *Z R G G*, IX (1957), pp. 25–29.

[22] North, *loc. cit.*, p. 49.

[23] G. F. Moore, The covenanters of Damascus, *H T R*, IV (1911), p. 362.

[24] *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, pp. 249–254.

Qumrân et avec la Samarie. Elle se trouvait en contact avec les Mages, qui ont agi sur sa théologie. Elle a pu essayer de faire parmi eux des adeptes, en particulier en usant de la prophétie de Balaam sur l'Etoile. Mais d'autre part les Mages ont fait des conversions dans ses rangs, comme le montre le cas de Simon.

L'étude du thème de l'étoile dans le christianisme primitif va nous confirmer ces contacts avec Damas et Kokba. Reprenons les contextes où nous avons trouvé des mentions de l'étoile, en suivant l'ordre chronologique. Etienne, d'après *Act.*, VII, 42–43, cite *Amos*, V, 26. Or cette citation se retrouve dans le *Document de Damas*, associé à *Num.*, XXIV, 17. La citation d'*Amos* est si singulière qu'elle peut difficilement s'expliquer sans un lien avec le *Document de Damas*. Or Etienne fait partie des Hellénistes, qui semblent bien, comme l'a montré Cullmann, des Esséniens convertis. Ces Hellénistes ont été les premiers missionnaires chrétiens, en Samarie d'abord, où ils ont rencontré Simon le Mage, en Syrie ensuite. C'est à eux qu'il faut attribuer sans doute la fondation de l'Eglise de Damas. Etant eux-mêmes des sadocites convertis, il serait normal que leur apostolat se soit exercé auprès des sadocites réfugiés à Damas.

Par là s'expliquerait d'abord l'intérêt prêté à la citation d'*Amos*, où il est fait allusion à Damas et qui ne se trouve, en dehors des *Actes*, que dans le *CDC*. Elle est caractéristique non des Sadocites en général, mais de ceux de Damas. C'est par leur contact avec ceux-ci que les Hellénistes l'ont reçue et l'ont intégrée dans le discours d'Etienne, en remplaçant Damas par Babylone. Un autre trait curieux est l'existence d'une tradition selon laquelle la conversion de Saint Paul aurait eu lieu à Kokba [25]. Saul y aurait eu un premier contact avec des Hellénistes qui devaient ensuite faire son instruction à Damas [26]. On peut même se demander si l'apparition lumineuse n'est pas en relation avec l'étoile, telle que nous la décrivent Ignace et les *Sibyllins*.

---

[25] Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 4e éd., II, 636.

[26] Voir Jean Daniélou, Eglise primitive et communauté de Qumrân, *Etudes*, CCXCIII (avril 1957), p. 223. On peut se demander si le séjour en Arabie (*Gal.*, I, 17) ne désigne pas Kokba. La région de Damas était alors considérée comme faisant partie de l'Arabie.

D'ailleurs la présence de sadocites convertis à Kokba nous est attestée pour un groupe particulier, celui des ébionites. En effet Epiphane nous dit qu'après la catastrophe de 70, ce groupe se constitua à Kokba [27], parmi des judéo-chrétiens réfugiés. Or les ébionites sont des convertis de l'essénisme. Si ces chrétiens d'origine sadocite se réfugièrent à Kokba, c'est qu'ils savaient qu'ils y retrouveraient des sadocites convertis. Ceci est une indication de plus pour l'existence au sud de Damas d'une colonie de chrétiens venus de l'Essénisme, qui remontait à la prédication des Hellénistes, mais a dû s'accroître considérablement après 70 avec les judéo-chrétiens réfugiés de Palestine [28].

Un des témoignages les plus archaïques de la citation chrétienne de *Num.*, XXIV, 17 est celui des *Testaments des XII Patriarches*. Or cet ouvrage se rattache certainement à des sadocites convertis émigrés en Syrie. Il est caractéristique de la littérature que nous pouvons attendre de la communauté judéo-chrétienne de Kokba. Il est vraisemblable de chercher là l'importance prise par la prophétie de l'étoile dans l'ouvrage. C'est encore à la Syrie que nous conduit Ignace d'Antioche. Mais chez lui le thème de l'étoile apparaît déjà plus élaboré. Nous ne sommes plus dans le sadocisme chrétien strict, mais l'extraordinaire passage sur l'étoile doit venir chez Ignace de celui-ci.

Ainsi tous les textes archaïques où nous rencontrons des allusions à *Num.*, XXIV, 17 nous paraissent être en contact avec la Syrie et plus particulièrement avec la région de Damas. Mais on peut aller plus loin. Ils apparaissent chez les chrétiens, comme nous l'avons vu chez les sadocites, en rapport avec le conflit avec les Mages, dont la région de Damas est le lieu. Nous l'avions constaté au niveau de Simon. Nous remarquerons d'abord l'importance que cette confrontation avec Simon a pour les ébionites. Les écrits pseudo-clémentins lui sont consacrés. Or la rencontre des ébionites

---

[27] *Panarion*, XXX, 2, 8; 18, 1. Voir Harnack, *loc. cit.*, pp. 634–636. Voir aussi Eusebe, *Onom. ad loc.* (*G C S*, p. 172).

[28] Epiphane mentionne aussi parmi les réfugiés de Kokba des Nazaréens (XXIX, 7, 7), qui sont des judéo-chrétiens orthodoxes du groupe de Jacques, et des Archontiques (XL, 1, 5) qui sont des judéo-chrétiens gnostiques. Il est même possible, d'après Jules Africain (Eusèbe, *Hist. Eccl.*, I, 7, 14) qu'il y ait eu parmi eux des parents du Christ.

et des gnostiques simoniens n'a pu se faire qu'à Kokba, qui est à la fois l'extrême limite nord de leur habitat et un centre d'influence simonienne.

Mais il y a plus. Plusieurs des passages du Nouveau Testament où il est question de l'étoile sont en relation avec la controverse avec les Mages. Nous avons parlé de l'*Apocalypse*. Or quelques versets avant la mention de l'étoile (II, 20), il est question de la secte des Nicolaïtes et celle-ci est mise expressément en relation avec Balaam (II, 14–16). Les Nicolaïtes sont des Hellénistes [29] de Syrie, influencés par le dualisme des Mages. L'allusion à la prophétie de Balaam est une réponse directe à la propagande des Mages. Comme par ailleurs *l'Apocalypse* présente de nombreux points de contact avec le *Document de Damas*, nous pensons qu'elle n'est pas sans relation avec le sadocisme chrétien de Damas.

Il est remarquable que nous retrouvons le même contexte pour l'autre texte du Nouveau Testament où il est question de «l'étoile du matin», la II *Petri*. *L'Epître* est dirigée contre «ceux qui ont quitté le droit chemin et se sont égarés en suivant la voie de Balaam, fils de Bosor» (II, 15). La description qui suit est apparentée à celle que *l'Apocalypse* donne des Nicolaïtes. Il s'agit donc ici encore de judéo-chrétiens dévoyés par l'influence des Mages iraniens, c'est-à-dire des premiers gnostiques, ceux qui se situent en domaine syriaque et non hellénistique [30]. C'est à eux que l'auteur rapporte la prophétie de Balaam et son accomplissement dans le Christ (I, 16–19). On sait d'ailleurs les liens de la littérature pétrinienne et de la Syrie: c'est de là que viennent *l'Evangile de Pierre* et *l'Apocalypse de Pierre*.

Ainsi les allusions à l'étoile que nous trouvons dans le Nouveau Testament et la littérature judéo-chrétienne archaïque apparaissent bien liées à la lutte contre l'influence des Mages menée par les missionnaires chrétiens venus de l'essénisme en Syrie et particulièrement à Damas. Ceci serait encore plus vrai d'Edesse et de la Mésopotamie [31]. On remarquera d'autre part qu'en Syrie du Nord, chez Ignace, la mention de l'étoile est également associée à la lutte contre les Mages. La même idée se retrouve chez Théodote, dont

[29] Epiphane (*Pan.*, XXV, 1, 1) rattache Nicolas à Etienne.

[30] Voir Reicke, *Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos*, pp. 362–363.

[31] Goppelt, *Christentum und Judentum*, p. 202.

le gnosticisme est d'origine syrienne. D'ailleurs la lutte contre l'astrologie nous ramène à la Syrie et à l'influence des Mages babyloniens. C'est là que le Syrien Tatien, le Syrien Bardesane, en écriront des réfutations.

Reste toutefois un dernier texte qui est *Mth.*, II, 2. La mention de l'étoile a-t-elle quelque chose à voir avec Damas? Nous remarquerons premièrement que l'*Evangile de Mathieu* a été vraisemblablement écrit en Syrie, où se trouvait le principal noyau de la communauté judéo-chrétienne. Dès lors on comprend très bien l'importance donnée à l'épisode de l'étoile. La mission chrétienne de Syrie s'adressait à un milieu où les Mages exerçaient une influence. La péricope de l'étoile apparaît comme le type même d'un Kérygme adressé à ce milieu. Il fait appel à la prophétie du Mage Balaam, comme à Athènes Paul fera appel à Aratos et comme en Egypte les chrétiens citeront le témoignage des Sibylles. Le trait historique de l'apparition de l'étoile a été retenu ici parce qu'il apparaissait comme la réalisation de la prophétie de Balaam et constituait donc un argument spécialement approprié.

Que ceci corresponde à la situation à Damas, nous en avons une preuve dans un dernier texte, celui où Justin établit un lien entre les Mages et Damas. L'intérêt est que Justin se réfère à un groupe de *Testimonia* archaïque. L'origine de ces *Testimonia*, étant donnée l'allusion à Damas, est tout naturellement à chercher dans la communauté primitive de Damas ou de Kokba. La question n'est pas de savoir si les Mages de l'Evangile venaient de Damas. *Math.*, II, 1, parle seulement de l'Orient. Justin les fait venir d'Arabie (*Dial.*, LXXVIII, 2). Mais il précise que «Damas fait partie du territoire arabe» (LXXVIII, 10). Clément d'Alexandrie parle de la Perse (*Protrept.* V, 65, 4) [32]. Origène les fait venir de Babylone, qui est en effet leur lieu traditionnel. Mais la distance rend la chose impossible. Damas est donc vraisemblable.

Mais encore une fois ceci nous importe peu. Le principal est qu'à date archaïque l'épisode des Mages ait été rattaché au milieu de Damas. Car ceci montre une fois de plus que c'est dans ce milieu, où la question du conflit avec les Mages et de la mission auprès d'eux était aiguë, que le thème de l'étoile a pris son développement,

---

[32] *loc. cit.*, p. 26.

à la fois par l'usage fait de la prophétie de Balaam sur l'étoile et par l'intérêt pris à l'épisode de l'étoile apparue aux Mages. C'est dans le milieu des missionnaires chrétiens de Damas, au niveau du premier Kérygme, que les deux thèmes ont été associés.

L'histoire du thème de l'étoile et de son *Sitz im Leben* apporte ainsi quelques données intéressantes sur un fragment de l'histoire du christianisme primitif. Elle nous montre que c'est à Damas que les sadocites exilés ont pris contact avec le dualisme iranien, que c'est là que cette influence en a entraîné certains au dualisme radical qui est devenu le gnosticisme: celui-ci est donc originellement une forme du judaïsme influencée par l'Iran [33]. Par ailleurs c'est à Damas que des sadocites convertis ont exercé leur apostolat auprès des Mages. C'est également là qu'ils se sont heurtés pour la première fois aux gnostiques juifs et ont dû se défendre contre leur influence. Tels sont les cheminements que nous avons parcourus en étant guidé par l'étoile.

[33] Voir G. Quispel, Christliche Gnosis und Jüdische Heterodoxie, *E T*, 1954, pp. 1–11.

DAS HEBRÄEREVANGELIUM IM GNOSTISCHEN EVANGELIUM NACH MARIA

VON

G. QUISPEL

In einem kurzen Aufsatz in *New Testament Studies* hat R. McL. Wilson neuerdings die Benützung des Neuen Testaments im gnostischen *Evangelium nach Maria* besprochen und dabei auch die schwierige Frage aufgeworfen, ob diese gnostische Schrift das Vorkommen des sogenannten Westlichen Textes des Neuen Testamentes (in Ägypten!) bezeuge [1]. Dabei ist ihm nun allerdings ein Zitat entgangen, das zur Vorsicht mahnen dürfte:

> Denn *(γάρ)* dort, wo der Verstand *(νοῦς)* ist, da ist peḫo
> Till, p. 69, l.15.

Till hat in seiner übrigens ausgezeichneten Ausgabe das koptische Wort als „dein Antlitz" übersetzt [2]. Mir scheint es aber, dass nicht ḫo, „Antlitz", sondern aḫo, Achmimisch eḫo, „Schatz", das Wort ist, das an dieser Stelle benützt worden ist [3], (wie es Till im Apparat auch als mögliche Uebersetzung angibt), sodass zu übersetzen ist:

> Denn *(γάρ)* dort, wo der Verstand *(νοῦς)* ist, da ist der Schatz.

Das ist nun allerdings ein bekanntes Logion:

> Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* VII, 12, 77 [4]: *ὅπου γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τινος ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ θησαυρὸς αὐτοῦ.*
>
> id., *Q.D.S.* 17: *ὅπου γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ θησαυρὸς αὐτοῦ.*

---

[1] *New Testament Studies* **3**, 3, S. 236–243.

[2] W. C. Till, *Die Gnostischen Schriften des Koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis* 8502, Berlin 1955.

[3] W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, S. 24b.

[4] F. Mordaunt Barnard, *The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria*, Text and Studies V, 5, Cambridge 1899, S. 10.

id., *Strom.* IV, 6, 33: *ὁ δὲ τῷ ὄντι θησαυρὸς ἡμῶν ἔνθα ἡ συγγενεία τοῦ νοῦ.*

Makarius, *Hom.* 43, 3: *ὅπου ὁ νοῦς σου ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ θησαυρός σου.*

Nun könnte man der Meinung sein, dass hier ein Zitat von Matthäus 6, 21 (= Lucas 12, 34, aus Q.) vorliegt. Das scheint mir nun doch nicht der Fall zu sein, und zwar aus folgenden Gründen.

Eine zwar nicht identische, aber doch verwandte Form des Logions findet sich in Justins *Apologie* I, 15, 16:

ὅπου γὰρ ὁ θησαυρός ἐστιν, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

Nun scheint es mir nicht zweifelhaft, dass Justin die vier kanonischen Evangelien gekannt hat, (auch das Johannesevangelium), aber die Forschung des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts hat doch auch dies überzeugend nachgewiesen, dass Justin für seine Evangelienzitate noch über eine Nebenquelle verfügte, welche meiner Ansicht nach mit dem judenchristlichen Hebräerevangelium identisch war [5]. Das beweist nämlich die grosse Uebereinstimmung,

---

[5] K. A. Credner, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften*, Halle 1832, S. 92–267, dachte an das judenchristliche Petrusevangelium;

A. Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justins*, Halle 1850, war derselben Meinung;

W. Bousset, *Die Evangelienzitate Justins des Märtyrers*, Göttingen 1891, hat auf die hypothetische Quelle von Matthäus und Lukas, Q., verwiesen.

Ganz abwegig ist der Versuch von E. Lippelt, (*Quae fuerint Justini Martyris Apomnemoneumata Quaque Ratione cum Forma Evangeliorum Syro-Latina cohaeserint*, Halle 1901), eine Evangelienharmonie als Quelle für Justin darzulegen. Aber aus seinen Ausführungen geht klar hervor, dass dem Justin ein schon harmonisierter „Westlicher Text" der Evangelien vorlag, welcher dem Codex Bezae und seinen syrischen und altlateinischen Trabanten sehr verwandt war. Man wird also auch bei Justin zwischen den vom Hebräerevangelium beeinflussten, westlichen Lesarten einerseits und Zitaten aus dem Hebräerevangelium andrerseits unterscheiden müssen. Zweifellos entstammt Lukas 3, 22: *ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε* in *Dialogus c. Tr.* 88, 8 dem Hebräerevangelium, wie Fragment 3 des Ebionitenevangeliums *(ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε)* zeigt. Das beweist aber nur, dass diese Lesart von D abcf^2 Ir. schon in den Evangelientext Justins eingedrungen war, dass also der Westliche Text vorjustinisch ist und sein Entstehen nicht dem Diatessaron Tatians verdankt. I *Apol.* 63, 3 und 69, 13 liest Justin Matth. 11, 27: *οὐδεὶς ἔγνω κτλ.*; das ist, wie Pseudoklem. *Hom.* 18, 4 zeigt, dem Hebräerevangelium entnommen. Aber *Dial. c. Tr.* 100, 1 schreibt er, was er offenbar in seinem Evangelium las: *οὐδεὶς γινώσκει κτλ.*

welche zwischen den Zitaten Justins aus der Sonderquelle und den Evangelienzitaten in den pseudoklementinischen *Homiliae* und *Recognitiones* besteht [6]. Und selbst wenn man vermuten würde, dass Justin hier Matthäus 6, 21 zitieren will, muss man annehmen, dass die Form des Logions im Hebräerevangelium ihn zu dieser merkwürdigen Umgestaltung bestimmt hat, oder auch, dass sein Evangelientext schon vom Hebräerevangelium beeinflusst worden war.

Deshalb kann ich auch nicht glauben, dass in der erwähnten Stelle des *Evangeliums nach Maria* ein Zitat aus Matthäus vorliegt. Vielmehr handelt es sich um ein Zitat aus demHebräerevangelium, das bekanntlich synoptisches Traditionsgut enthielt, ohne doch deswegen, wie mir scheint, von unsern Synoptikern abhängig zu sein [7]. Deshalb wird es wohl schwierig sein, aus dem gnostischen

---

Nun ist allerdings *ἔγνω*, ein Aramäismus für *γινώσκει*, nicht charakteristisch für den „Westlichen Text".

Ignatius kannte das Hebräerevangelium: *Eph.* V, 2: *εἰ γὰρ ἑνὸς καὶ δευτέρου προσευχή κτλ.* setzt den Text des H.E. voraus, welcher in *Papyrus Oxyrrh.* 1, 5: *εἷς ... ⟨ἢ δύ⟩ο* und in Ephraems Kommentar zum Diatessaron XIV, 21, p. 144, 13 Leloir (ubi unus ... ubi duo) aufbewahrt worden ist. Theophilus von Antiochien, *ad Autolyc.* II, 34 hat die Formulierung des Aposteldekrets ohne *πνικτῶν* und mit der negativen Fassung des „Golden Rule", wie der *Codex Bezae.* Darf man vermuten, dass der sog. Westliche Text under Einwirkung des H.E. zwischen 100 und 150 nach Christus in Antiochien entstanden und von dort nach Rom und so nach den Westen gewandert ist? Das würde die Uebereinstimmung zwischen dem Vetus Syrus, Justin und Marcion in Rom, und den lateinischen Vätern und Kodizes erklären.

[6] H. M. van Nes, *Het Nieuwe Testament in de Clementijnen*, Amsterdam 1887. Credner hat systematisch den Zusammenhang zwischen Justin und Ps. Clemens nachgewiesen; unter seinem Einfluss hat man aber die Zitate aus den *Recognitiones* vernachlässigt, welche Lesungen des Hebräerevangeliums enthalten. Hier rächte es sich, dass man die syrischen Pseudoklementinen vernachlässigt hat; diese aber zeigen, dass Rufin, der Uebersetzer der *Recognitiones*, die Zitate kaum geändert hat (W. Frankenberg, *Die Syrischen Clementinen mit Griechischem Paralleltext*, Leipzig 1937).

[7] Th. Zahn, *Gesch. nt. Kanons* II S. 707 hat „siegreich dargethan, dass das H.E. vom kanonischen Matth. (geschweige von Lukas) unabhängig ist und somit den kanonischen Evangelien gegenüber ein ganz selbständiges Evangelium darstellt" (so A. von Harnack, *Die Chronologie* I. S. 645) Allerdings war das Hebräerevangelium auch nicht der hebräische Matth äus wie Zahn meinte.

Evangelium nach Maria auf die Bekanntschaft mit den kanonischen Evangelien und sogar auf das Vorkommen des sog. Westlichen Textes in Ägypten zu schliessen[8]. Das ist sogar bei Clemens Alexandrinus schwierig, wie wir sahen. Denn man muss sich eben immer fragen, ob nicht ein Zitat aus einer apokryphen Quelle, zum Beispiel aus dem Hebräerevangelium, vorliegen könnte.

Andrerseits bekommen wir einen interessanten Einblick in die Geschichte der Christianisierung Ägyptens, wenn unsere These richtig ist, dass das erwähnte Zitat dem Hebräerevangelium entstammt. Denn was soll das bedeuten, dass der Heidenchrist Clemens und der gnostische Autor des *Evangeliums nach Maria* noch immer das judenchristliche Evangelium zitieren? Doch wohl, dass das Hebräerevangelium in ihrer Zeit noch immer ein gewisses Ansehen genoss.

Aus der Tatsache, dass Clemens Alexandrinus neben den vier kanonischen Evangelien sowohl das Ägypterevangelium wie das Hebräerevangelium erwähnt, haben A. von Harnack und W. Bauer geschlossen, dass früher in Ägypten nur diese, jetzt apokryphen, Evangelien massgebend waren in der Kirche, ehe sie vom „Viergestaltigen Evangelium" der Orthodoxie verdrängt wurden[9]. Diese Tatsache lässt sich an einer Schrift erhärten, welche meiner Ansicht nach in Ägypten entstanden ist, dem *zweiten Clemensbrief:* denn diese enthält Logia, welche sich unter den Fragmenten des

---

[8] Es ist deshalb so schwierig, zwischen Einfluss des H.E. und des sogenannten Westlichen Textes zu unterscheiden, weil dieser Text schon sehr früh Lesarten des H.E. aufgenommen hat und zum grossen Teil diesem Einfluss seine Eigenart verdankt. Das zeigt der Westliche Text des Evangeliums Marcions: Marcion las schon in seinem römischen Text Luk. X, 21: *(εὐχαριστῶ σοι)* statt *ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοι*, was sowohl Epiphanius, *(εὐχαριστῶ σοι)*, wie Tertullian (Gratias ago et confiteor) bezeugen (A. v. Harnack, *Marcion*², Leipzig 1924, S. 205). Die Evangelienausgabe Zion beweist aber, dass das H.E. Matthäus 11, 25: *εὐχαριστῶ σοι* las (E. Klostermann, *Apocrypha* II, Berlin 1929, S. 8). Also schon vor Marcions Zeit sind Lesarten aus dem H.E. in den Westlichen Text eingedrungen. „Gratias ago" auch im Diatessaron unter Einfluss des H.E. (D. Plooy, *A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron*, Leyden 1925, S. 82).

[9] A. von Harnack, *Die Chronologie*, I. S. 614. W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei*, Tübingen 1934, S. 55.

Ägypterevangeliums und des Hebräerevangeliums wiederfinden [10]; dass aber der Autor dieses Briefes auch kanonische Evangelien benützt hat, können wir nicht beweisen [11].

Nehmen wir also an, dass etwa um 140 nur das Ägypterevangelium und das Hebräerevangelium massgebend waren. Aber so wenig auch vom Ägypterevangelium erhalten ist – eines können wir mit Sicherheit sagen, dass es das Hebräerevangelium als Quelle benützt und verarbeitet hat.

Das judenchristliche *Ebionitenevangelium*, das ebenso gut wie das *Nazoräerevangelium* eine targumartige Rezension und Ueberarbeitung des Hebräerevangeliums darstellt, enthält folgenden Satz:

Ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὰς θυσίας. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30, 22.

Das hat nun der Autor des Ägypterevangeliums ins Enkratitische transponiert [12]:

Ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας.
Clem. Alex., *Strom.* III, 9, 63.

Mithin war das Hebräerevangelium schon so früh in Ägypten bekannt, dass es als Quelle für das Ägypterevangelium dienen konnte.

Dann fragt man sich doch, ob das Christentum Ägyptens nicht judenchristlicher Herkunft ist und ob nicht wirklich, wie die Pseudoklementinischen *Homiliae* angeben, es Emissäre der judenchristlichen Gemeinde Palästinas gewesen sind, welche erstmalig in Ägypten Mission getrieben haben [13].

Ich muss es den Neutestamentlern überlassen auszumachen, ob

---

[10] II Clem. IV, 5 = H.E. fragm. 7[6] (Klosterm., S. 7). II Clem. XII, 2 = Äg. E. fragm. 2 (Klosterm., S. 15).

[11] *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, Oxford 1905, S. 124–136.

[12] E. Buonaiuti, *Detti Extracanonici di Gesù*, Roma 1925, S. 68: Il motto ha tutta l'aria di essere una intenzionale contrapossizione al framm. del Vangelo secondo gli Ebioniti.

[13] Die Pseudoklementinen I, *Homilien*, von B. Rehm, Berlin 1953, S. 27 ff.

die abweichende Lesart des Hebräerevangeliums nicht auch eine vollständigere Tradition bewahrt hat als unser Matthäus [14].

Bilthoven, Noord Houdringelaan 32

---

[14] Etwa, mit dem semitischen Parallelismus: wo der Schatz ist, dort ist auch das Herz und wo das Herz ist, dort ist auch der Schatz. So setzt auch die Lesart von D und den Lateinern a c e (mit C ab.) in Lucas 11, 40: *ὁποιήσας τὸ ἔσωθεν καὶ τὸ ἔζωθεν ἐποίησεν* (= Logion 89 des Thomasevangeliums, m.E. aus dem H.E.) folgende Urform voraus: Der, welcher das Äussere gemacht hat, hat auch das Innere gemacht und der, welcher das Innere gemacht hat, hat auch das Äussere gemacht.

NOTES ON GNOSIS

BY

ROBERT M. GRANT

1. Marcion and the Old Testament

It is a well known fact that in his *Antitheses* Marcion delivered a vigorous attack on the character of the God of the Old Testament, the creator of this world. This attack involved a good deal of searching the scriptures, as we learn from Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 2, 21–24, Origen, *De principiis* 4, 2, 1 (p. 307 Koetschau), and *Clementine homilies* 2, 43–44 (pp. 52–52 Rehm).[1] The lengthy Clementine list may be an expansion made by later Marcionites, though it is impossible to reach certainty in the matter.

Most of the texts cited or alluded to are concerned with the activities and attitudes of Yahweh, as might be expected in view of Yahweh's more anthropomorphic character as compared with Elohim. These are the texts usually criticized by ancient critics of the Old Testament and defended by such allegorizers as Philo. Thus the anger, jealousy, and inconstancy of Yahweh were denied by Philo, especially in his treatise *Quod Deus sit immutabilis;* Philo argued that Yahweh's regret for having made man was allegorical;[2] he proved that Yahweh was not ignorant by treating the questions "Where are you, Adam?" and "Where is your brother?" (Gen. 3, 9; 4, 9) as calls to repentance;[3] and he explained away such problems as Lot's relation to his daughters, and the plundering of the Egyptians, seemingly approved by God.[4]

These instances show that the questions raised by Marcion were

[1] Cf. A. von Harnack, *Marcion: das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* (ed. 2, Leipzig, 1924), 260* ff.; A. Marmorstein, *Studies in Jewish Theology* (London, 1950), 1-71 = *Hebrew Union College Annual* 6 (1929), 141-204; H. J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums* (Tübingen, 1949), 174–75.

[2] *Quod Deus sit immutabilis* 21; *Quaestiones in Genesim* 1, 95.

[3] *Leg. alleg.* 3, 51–54; *Quaest. in Gen.* 1, 45. 68.

[4] *Quaest. in Gen.* 4, 56; *Vit Mos.* 1, 141–42.

not new. What was new was the intensity with which Marcion raised them, and his absolute refusal to admit the possibility of allegorical exegesis as a way out.[5]

Along with this attack on Yahweh's character there is an inconsistent theological doctrine which later Marcionites seem to have abandoned. This doctrine is to the effect that the unknown supreme God is good, while the creator is just (*dikaios*). It is difficult to see how Marcion can have maintained this doctrine, in view of his criticisms of the Old Testament, but it is a fact that he did so. Where did he get it?

The answer to this question is probably to be found in the Judaism to which Marcion was so hostile. According to Philo, God's name *theos* (Elohim) refers to his creative power and to his goodness, while *kyrios* (Yahweh) refers to his royal power and to his punitive actions.[6] As Marmorstein has shown, this teaching corresponds to the older haggadic doctrine that the name Yahweh is used of the judgeship or rulership of God, while Elohim refers to his love and mercy.[7] Here, then, we find the source of the distinction which Marcion made. And it is significant that, as Marmorstein also notes, later rabbinic teaching reversed this analysis. Yahweh was the name indicating God's love and mercy (cf. Exodus 34, 6), while Elohim referred to judgment.[8] The change apparently took place in the age of R. Meir, in other words, in the time of Marcion.

It has sometimes been observed that in Marcion's mythology – should we call it haggada? – there is a singular story which resembles Cainite teaching. This is the story of the Savior's descent into the underworld, where Cain and other Old Testament sinners gladly heard him while Abraham and other saints thought that God was as usual testing them.[9] The Cainites too held that Cain and other Old Testament sinners were redeemed, but they took the further step of arguing that they were really saints. They were saints because they were opposed to Yahweh, the creator of the world.

---

[5] Origen, *In Matt. Comm.* 15, 3, p. 356, 28 Klostermann; Harnack, *op. cit.*, 260*.

[6] H. A. Wolfson, *Philo* (Cambridge, 1947), I, 224–25; cf. II, 136.

[7] *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God* I (London, 1927), 66.

[8] *Ibid.*, 43.

[9] Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1, 27, 2, p. 218 Harvey.

And the Cainites held that Yahweh's true name was Hystera, "womb." [10] Where did they get such a notion? Once more we find ourselves in the realm of haggadic exegesis, for in Exodus 34, 5–6 we read of Yahweh's "descent" to Sinai – a picture philosophically disreputable – and then of his saying "Yahweh, Yahweh, El rachum." But *rachum* sounds like *rechem*, "womb." Therefore, the Cainites would triumphantly conclude, Yahweh himself calls himself "womb." And he does not call himself "merciful and loving" – as rabbinic teachers were beginning to argue.

From this analysis we should conclude that the Cainites were probably later in date than Marcion, and that they represent a gnostic counterattack on those rabbis who were themselves opposed to Marcion. This conclusion is to some extent supported by the fact that Cainite teaching was unknown to Justin, while it is reported in Irenaeus' discussion of heresies.

The main point with which we are concerned, however, is the influence of rabbinic haggadism on gnostic teaching.

2. Ptolemaeus to Flora

Who was Flora? In his edition of this letter (Paris, 1949), Quispel has suggested that Epiphanius left out the address and thus deprived us of interesting information about her. An alternative suggestion may be in order. In his important study of the *Roman Oration* of Aelius Aristides,[11] J. H. Oliver has drawn attention to a statement by Johannes Lydus (*De mensibus* 4, 73, p. 125, 3–9 Wünsch). Lydus tells us that Rome had three names, ritual (Amor), hieratic (Flora), and political (Roma). In his oration Aristides himself refers to the hieratic name when he says that "the whole earth is adorned like a park." [12] It seems possible that Ptolemaeus may then be making a similar allusion when he refers to Flora as "like beautiful and good earth" (7, 10). Such an allusion would be especially appropriate if he were addressing his appeal to the Christian church of Rome. The situation of "Flora", a Christian waiting to be saved from ordinary orthodoxy, Marcionite doctrine, and more dualistic doctrine, would

[10] *Ibid.*, 1, 31, 1, p. 242.

[11] *The Ruling Power* (*Transactions of the American Philological Society*, N. S. 43, 4, Philadelphia, 1953), 883.

[12] *Or. Rom.* 99; Oliver, *op. cit.*, 885.

thus correspond to that of the Roman church in Justin's time, when the apologist refers to Marcionites, Valentinians, Basilidians, and Saturnilians.[13] For the idea of addressing a church as a woman we may compare the Second Epistle of John, where a church is addressed as the "elect lady."

3. The name Ialdabaoth

This mysterious name of the creator god, found in several gnostic systems, has given rise to a good deal of modern speculation. Salmon favored a derivation from *yalda bahoth*, "son of chaos";[14] Ganschinietz rejects this explanation and says the meaning is "nicht klar";[15] Ginzberg suggested *yalda b'osh*, "progenitor of shame." [16] The Old Testament uses the root *yalad* both of God (Deut. 32, 18) and of idols (Jer. 2, 27). But the expression *baoth* might mean "in respect to a sign" such as the luminaries of Genesis 1, 14.

Such conjectures do not seem to lead to any very convincing results, and it may be more satisfactory to consider the context in which we first encounter Ialdabaoth's name. We meet it in the *Apocryphon of John*,[17] in Irenaeus,[18] and in Origen (not in Celsus),[19] where the seven planetary angels are being listed. Both Irenaeus and Origen regard most of the names as derived from the Old Testament, though Origen says that Ialdabaoth and two others come from magic. It is quite true that the name is found in magical texts, but this fact does not prove that it is not ultimately derived from the Old Testament. Ganschinietz gives two examples which may give us a clue, for the name occurs as Ialdazaō and as Aldazaō; elsewhere in magical texts we encounter Iaōl, Iaēl, Iōēl, and Iouēl, not to mention Iaō Ēl and Iaō Sabaōth.[20]

---

[13] *Dial.* 35, 6.

[14] W. Smith—H. Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography* III (London, 1882), 191.

[15] Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* IX (Stuttgart, 1914), 624.

[16] L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* V (Philadelphia, 1925), 138

[17] Index, p. 327 Till.

[18] *Adv. haer.* 1, 30, 4, p. 230 Harvey; cf. 2, 35, 3, pp. 384–87.

[19] Origen, *C. Cels.* 6, 31–32.

[20] Cf. Ganschinietz in *RE* IX 703–6. 709; M. P. Nilsson, *Bulletin de la soc. royale des lettres de Lund* 1947–48, II, 62–64.

It seems to me that Ialdabaoth is derived from Yahweh Elohē Zebaoth, "Yahweh God of hosts (armies)", found in 2 Samuel, Amos, 1 Kings, Jeremiah, and Psalm 89, 9. The name is thus Ia-el-zebaoth. For the development from "z" (*tsade*) to "d" parallels can be found in Aramaic, where both *teth* and *daleth* are sometimes substituted for *tsade*. So while the Septuagint sometimes renders *tsebaoth* as *Sabaoth*, it could also be transliterated as *Debaoth*.

4. The Odes of Solomon and the Gospel of Truth

In 1909, when Rendel Harris published his *editio princeps* of the *Odes of Solomon*, he was much impressed by the mysteriousness of *Ode* 23, which describes the reception of a letter from heaven. As he said (p. 121), „some book may have been published, claiming Divine Authority . . . . It appeared suddenly, unexpectedly, and met with opposition rather than universal acceptance . . . . (It) conveyed a message to those below from one above, and it interpreted the region below to include the invisible world . . . . It contained some pronounced statement concerning the Trinity, for we are expressly told that it had the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost upon it."

Since other features of the *Odes* correspond fairly closely with Valentinian doctrine,[21] we shall be inclined to look for this mysterious book among the Valentinians. And a striking resemblance is found at once. The *Ode* begins with these words:

> *Joy is of the saints, and who shall put it on but they alone?*
> *Grace is of the elect, and who shall receive it but those who trust in it from the beginning?*
> *Love is of the elect, and who shall put it on but those who have possessed it from the beginning?*
> *Walk in the knowledge of the Most High . . . .*

When we turn to the *Gospel of Truth*, we find that it begins as follows:

> *The Gospel of Truth is joy for those who have received the grace of knowing from the Father of Truth him who through the power of the Word is come forth from the Pleroma . . . .* (p. 16, 31)

[21] E. Preuschen *ap.* H. Gunkel-H. Gressmann, *ZNW* 11 (1910), 328; W. R. Newbold in *JBL* 30 (1911), 161–204 (what Newbold refers to Bardaisan suits the early Valentinus just as well); W. Stölten in *ZNW* 13 (1912), 29–58 (the best parallels are Valentinian).

And then when we read in verse 16 of the *Ode* that "the Son of Truth is from the Most High Father", and in verse 20 that "the name of the Father was on it, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, to rule for ever and ever," we think at once of the discussion of the Son as the Father's Name in the *Gospel* (pp. 38–40), and of the description of Truth as the Father's Mouth and of the Spirit as the Father's Tongue (p. 26, 34–36).

Another important parallel occurs in *Ode* 38, where we read how Truth became a haven of salvation to the writer; it went with him and brought him to rest (3–4).

> *Error fled away from it and met it not,*
> *but the Truth proceeds in the right way.*
> *Whatever I did not know, it showed me,*
> *all the poisons of Error and the plagues which pass for the*
> *fear of death and the destroyer of destruction.*
> *I saw how the corrupted bride is adorned,*
> *and the bridegroom who corrupts and is corrupted.*
> *I asked the Truth, "Who are these?"*
> *And he said to me, "This is the deceiver and the Error,*
> *And they are alike in the beloved and his bride,*
> *But they lead the world astray and corrupt it,*
> *And give them to drink of the wine of their intoxication . . . .* (7–13).

Later on, salvation is described as the laying of a foundation, planting a root, and causing it to spring up and bring forth fruit.

This too is the doctrine of the *Gospel of Truth*, where Error (*planē*) is the foe of mankind; it works over matter in the Void (p. 17, 15) and made a "formation" in imitation of the Truth (p. 17, 19). It is thus the equivalent of the Demiurge, which as Malinine, Puech, and Quispel note [22] is absent from the *Gospel*. Error "annihilated" Jesus (p. 18, 24), but he showed men the right path, "and that path is the Truth which he taught them" (p. 18, 20). They find their true root, which is his root (p. 41, 17, 26; 42, 33–35); and from other Valentinian documents we know that they bring forth fruit.[23]

These examples, to which many more could be added, suggest that the *Odes* later entitled the *Odes of Solomon* (nothing in them has any

[23] E. g. the end of Ptolemaeus' *Letter to Flora* (7, 10).

reference to Solomon) are actually Valentinian and come from the same stage of the school as that represented by the *Gospel of Truth*.[24]

5. Hyppolytus and the Psalms of Valentinus

From Hippolytus (*Ref.* 6, 37, 7) we possess a quotation from a psalm of Valentinus, along with exegesis of it which is perhaps from Ptolemaeus. The psalm has been carefully interpreted by Festugière in this journal (Vol. 3, 1949, pp. 205–7), and we should subscribe to his interpretation except that we should prefer to regard *theros*, "harvest", as the title of the psalm. The last two lines are especially interesting. "In spirit I see .... fruits rising from the abyss, the child (*brephos*) rising from the womb." It is not possible that Hippolytus gives us more of this psalm at another point? In *Ref.* 6, 42, 2 Hippolytus says, "Valentinus says he saw a new-born child and asked it who it might be; it replied that it was the Logos." Could not this information be based upon what we might expect to find in the rest of the psalm? "In spirit I see

Fruits rising from the abyss,
The child rising from the womb.
I asked the child who it might be;
It answered, 'I am the Logos'."

For the question-and-answer form we could compare the 38th *Ode of Solomon*, quoted in section 4 above.

Hippolytus' notion that the Valentinian system arose out of this vision is presumably not correct; according to Clement, *Strom.* 7, 106, 4, Valentinus possessed the true meaning of Jesus' teaching from a certain Theodas, a companion of Paul; and on the other side the *Gospel of Truth* is not a revelation given by a child-Logos.

University of Chicago

[24] The parallels in the Qumran *Psalms of Thanksgiving* deserve attention.

A PROPOS DES OSSEMENTS DE LA NICHE 1

PAR

JEAN BERNARDI

La présence d'ossements dans la niche 1 du monument de saint Pierre a suscité de la part de ceux qui ont étudié les résultats des fouilles du Vatican de la réserve, pour ne pas dire de l'embarras. C'est l'attitude des auteurs du rapport officiel[1], attitude dont M. Carcopino, qui la relève, ne s'écarte lui-même que pour l'accentuer jusqu'au scepticisme. «Ces ossements, écrit-il, ne pourraient en effet avoir appartenu au corps de Pierre que par le plus extraordinaire des hasards; un hasard qui excède le point de vue de la science». Et plus loin: «Quant à l'historien, il ne dispose jusqu'à présent d'aucun critère qui lui permette d'identifier ces restes»[2]. La prudence observée par les archéologues du Saint-Siège est compréhensible, et on ne saurait que les en louer sans se sentir tenu pour autant de l'imiter au même degré. Il y aurait cependant quelque témérité à orienter une recherche dans une direction déconseillée en des termes aussi formels par un tel maître si l'interprétation qu'il a donnée des fouilles de Saint-Pierre et de Saint-Sébastien[3] ne frayait pas la voie aux suggestions qu'on va lire.

La vérité, c'est qu'en présence des ossements de la niche 1, la réserve ne saurait longtemps satisfaire[4]. Il ne suffit pas non plus

[1] B. M. Apollonj Ghetti, A. Ferrua, E. Josi, E. Kirschbaum, *Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano*. 2 vol., Città del Vaticano, 1951.

[2] Carcopino, *Etudes d'histoire chrétienne*, Paris, 1953, pp. 229–230.

[3] Cf. Carcopino, *De Pythagore aux apôtres*, Paris, 1956.

[4] Regrettons à notre tour que, si ces ossements ont donné lieu à un examen anatomique et une analyse chimique, les résultats de ces recherches n'aient pas fait l'objet d'une publication. Les derniers renseignements accessibles sur ce sujet nous sont donnés par J. Toynbee et J. Ward Perkins dans leur récent ouvrage intitulé *The Shrine of St. Peter*, Londres, 1956, où nous lisons que «all the information that we have about them at present is the further statement by one of the excavators that a preliminary examination has shown them to be those of a person of advanced age and powerful physique; the sex, it seems, cannot be determined, and the skull is missing» (p. 154; cf ibid., p. 184, n. 16).

d'avancer qu'ils proviennent de quelque ancienne sépulture ou d'un bouleversement ultérieur: encore conviendrait-il de nous montrer comment et par quel chemin. N'y aurait-il pas d'ailleurs matière à s'étonner que des ossements étrangers soient par hasard venus se loger précisément là où on s'attendait à trouver ceux de saint Pierre, ou du moins dans un endroit dont la disposition et la forme attestent qu'il était destiné à abriter quelque chose? D'une part en effet l'organisation générale des lieux telle que l'ont révélée les fouilles nous invite à rechercher au pied du monument le corps de saint Pierre, d'autre part il semble bien que l'existence de la niche 1 et sa forme, sur laquelle nous allons revenir, trahissent l'intention d'abriter une sépulture. On ne saurait en tout cas récuser cette interprétation sans se charger du même coup de l'obligation de donner une explication de la présence comme de la forme de la niche 1. Toutefois les choses ne sont pas aussi simples et M. Lemerle n'a pas tort d'écrire à propos du mur rouge: «On ne comprend pas pourquoi on n'en aurait pas très légèrement dévié le tracé, s'il rencontrait sur son bord oriental quelque endroit remarquable qu'il fallût signaler, ou dégager, au moyen de la niche» [5]. Il paraît évident que la niche 1 n'a pas été pratiquée pour respecter une sépulture déjà existante, car, dans ce cas, la régularité de la maçonnerie attesterait cette intention. Or elle a été ouverte à coups de ciseau et de marteau, c'est à dire que, le mur une fois construit, on a éprouvé le besoin d'en entailler la base. S'il a pu être construit, c'est qu'aucune tombe ne gênait ses constructeurs, c'est que le corps de saint Pierre n'était pas là. J. Toynbee et J. Ward Perkins supposent que les ouvriers qui construisaient le mur rouge, ayant rencontré au cours de leurs travaux la tombe de l'apôtre, ont pratiqué la niche 1 pour inhumer à nouveau les ossements bouleversés par leur tranchée. [6] Cette hypothèse n'explique pas qu'ils aient cru devoir construire le mur entièrement pour l'entailler ensuite en aménageant la niche 1. De plus est-il vraisemblable qu'aménageant un monument en l'honneur

---

[5] P. Lemerle, *La publication des fouilles de la basilique vaticane et la question du tombeau de saint Pierre*, dans la *Revue historique*, octobre-décembre 1952, p. 217 sqq.

[6] J. Toynbee et J. Ward Perkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 158–159.

de saint Pierre, ils aient distrait une partie des ossements découverts pour les enfouir sans cérémonie?

On pourrait aussi penser que les constructeurs du mur rouge l'ont élevé sur la tombe trouvée *in situ* en englobant celle-ci dans la maçonnerie, de telle sorte que la niche aurait été pratiquée ultérieurement, par exemple en 258 pour dégager la tombe de la

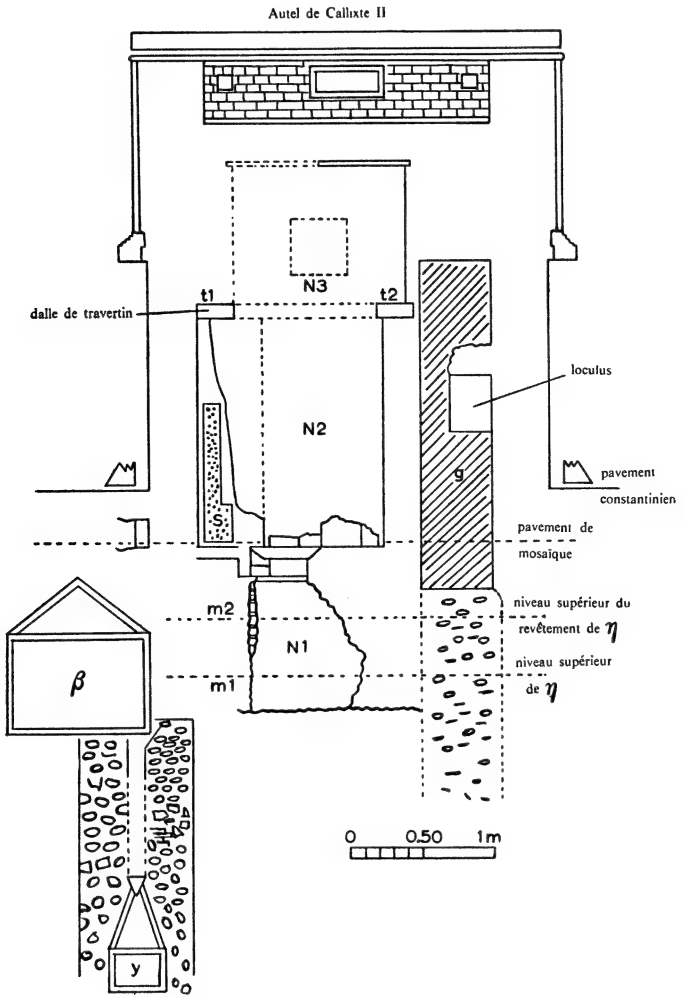

Fig. 1.
Coupe ouest-est.

maçonnerie qui l'emprisonnait et emporter le corps à Catacumbas. Mais l'hypothèse paraît peu vraisemblable, car, dans ce cas, les ravisseurs de 258, qui étaient pressés, auraient certainement couru au plus vite en se contentant de dégager le couvercle seul ou de le briser au lieu d'évider patiemment le mur jusqu'à sa base pour retirer la bière entière. Il est d'ailleurs douteux que ce travail d'évidement ait été matériellement possible. Peut-on de plus imaginer que les constructeurs de la *memoria*, dont tous les efforts tendaient à la protection et à la mise en valeur de la tombe de saint Pierre, l'aient noyée dans leur maçonnerie, lui faisant ainsi subir le même traitement qu'à n'importe quelle sépulture anonyme [7] ?

La niche 1, malgré son caractère sommaire et improvisé, affecte sur son flanc Nord une forme grossièrement triangulaire. A en juger d'après la photo publiée dans le rapport officiel [8], il semblerait que, si le côté droit a été complètement évidé, il n'en va pas de même pour la paroi de gauche où le travail d'évidement s'arrête un peu avant la base, son auteur s'étant contenté de l'achever par une incision en oblique. Cependant les plans ne confirment pas cette impression [9]. La niche, vue de face, présente un côté Sud qui épouse le tracé vertical des murettes 1 et 2, tandis que le côté Nord descend en oblique en s'écartant progressivement vers le Nord avant de retourner à la verticale pour rejoindre la base du mur rouge. Nous aurons à revenir sur ce point. Pour l'instant, cette ébauche de section triangulaire invite à un rapprochement avec les tombes γ et θ, toutes deux surmontées d'un toit à double pente, et à nous demander si la niche 1 n'a pas été ouverte pour loger l'extrêmité d'un toit de tuiles du type qui se retrouve dans ces deux tombes.

---

[7] La chose ne serait point sans exemple: M. Marrou nous dit «avoir cru voir en mai dernier une cassette de pierre (non encore complètement dégagée, donc non ouverte) enfoncée dans les fondations du dit mur rouge».

[8] On la trouvera plus aisément que dans le rapport officiel dans Carcopino, *Etudes d'histoire chrétienne*, pl. IX, p. 224.

[9] On se reportera utilement pour toutes les données topographiques qui suivent à l'article publié par J. Carcopino et H. I. Marrou sur *Les fouilles du Vatican* en appendice au *Dictionnaire d'archéologie catholique*, t. XV, 1953. Cependant les plans et figures du livre de J. Toynbee et J. Ward Perkins présentent le grand avantage d'une extrême netteté lié au fait que tout est ramené à une échelle à la fois commune et très lisible.

Le mur rouge à l'Ouest, la tombe η à l'Est, le mur g au Nord et les deux murettes m1 et m2 au Sud délimitent, on le sait un espace libre qui mesure environ 1m20 dans sa dimension Nord-Sud et de Om60 à Om80 dans sa dimension Est-Ouest. La surface occupée dans le mur rouge par la niche 1 mesure environ Om90

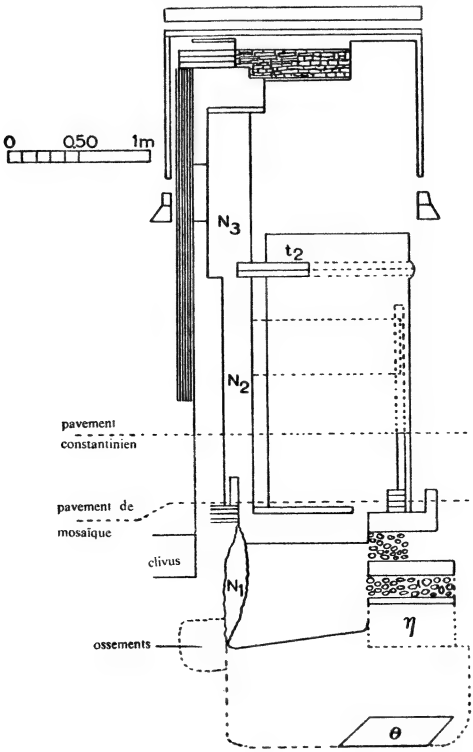

Fig. 2. Situation de la niche 1, vue de face (sud-nord)
(La ligne à gauche de η doit être horizontale)

de haut en bas, sa largeur est d'environ Om30 au niveau supérieur et de Om50 au niveau inférieur, ces deux dimensions comptées à partir des murettes au Sud. La distance qui sépare le mur rouge (abstraction faite de la profondeur de la niche) de la tombe η et de son revêtement se situe entre Om56, qui est la longueur de m1, et Om70 environ entre le bord Nord inférieur de la niche et le tracé de η. Au niveau du sol, elle n'excède guère Om60 par conséquent. Nous ne connaissons pas les dimensions de la caisse qui enfermait

les restes de saint Pierre lors de l'inhumation du IIe siècle au pied de la *memoria* (sans préjuger par l'emploi de ce terme de caisse de la forme ni de la matière de ce que nous appelons provisoirement ainsi), mais la cachette du mur *g* qui recueillera ultérieurement les restes, si nous en croyons M. Carcopino, [10] mesure Om77 de long. La caisse du IIe siècle pouvait être plus longue dans le cas où elle contenait des restes mieux conservés qu'ils ne le seront plus tard, elle ne saurait guère avoir été plus courte. De toute façon sa longueur ne devait pas s'écarter de beaucoup de celle de la cachette du mur *g*, c'est à dire qu'elle excédait d'environ 15 centimètres la longueur de l'orifice où on avait à la descendre. La manœuvre nécessitait donc soit la destruction partielle de la tombe η et de son revêtement, soit la pratique d'une ouverture dans le mur rouge. L'espace à gagner étant réduit, la nécessité de recourir aux deux solutions à la fois paraît exclue. Or c'est bien ce qui semble s'être produit, si on considère l'existence de la niche 1 et le fait que la tombe η a été détruite dans sa majeure partie, celle qui se trouve au Nord des murettes, faisant précisément face à l'orifice de la niche. Cependant la destruction de la tombe η s'explique beaucoup mieux par les travaux de soutènement des colonnettes de la *memoria*, travaux qui ont dû logiquement, semble-t-il, mais non pas certainement, précéder l'inhumation du IIe siècle. Il semble probable que la niche 1 a été ouverte pour permettre la descente et la mise en place de la caisse qui contenait le corps. De fait sa profondeur ne dépasse pas les 20 centimètres suffisants pour la manœuvrer et la loger. Les constructeurs du mur et de la *memoria*, après avoir tout préparé pour l'inhumation définitive, ont dû s'apercevoir au dernier moment qu'ils avaient mal pris leurs dispositions: le mur avait pris trop d'épaisseur pour qu'on pût loger le corps à son pied. Ils ont été alors contraints d'évider sommairement et rapidement le mur qu'ils venaient d'édifier afin de permettre la mise en place du corps, ou tout simplement des tuiles destinées à le protéger.

Est-il possible d'en savoir davantage? Nous avons dit que photo et plans invitent à se représenter une sépulture du type de la tombe γ ou de la tombe θ, c'est à dire soit une caisse de terre cuite surmontée d'un toit à double pente, soit encore un prisme formé de

[10] *Etudes d'histoire chrétienne*, p. 231.

tuiles en chevron. La profondeur totale est de Om90, donc voisine de celle de la tombe γ qui est d'environ Om80, d'autre part le côté Nord de la niche présente un tracé qui semble épouser le contour d'un coffret surmonté d'un toit de tuiles comme dans cette tombe. On pourrait donc se représenter la sépulture des années 160 sous un aspect assez analogue à celui de la tombe γ. Ainsi la volonté d'honorer d'un monument les restes de l'apôtre n'aurait pas détourné les chrétiens du IIe siècle de lui donner une sépulture analogue aux plus pauvres.

Vers les années 160, les constructeurs du mur rouge ont donc mis en place à sa base un corps à l'endroit où par la suite on devait honorer la mémoire de saint Pierre. Faut-il conclure de ce qui précède que la sépulture ne remonte pas plus haut que cette date? On a eu raison de souligner que les architectes de Constantin avaient toutes les raisons de ne pas édifier leur basilique sur un terrain qu'ils n'ont choisi que parce que la tradition y localisait la sépulture de saint Pierre [11]. De la même façon l'architecte du IIe siècle n'aurait sans doute pas choisi cet endroit précis, s'il avait été libre de ses mouvements. Le peu de place laissée entre la tombe η et le mur rouge, – si petite qu'elle s'est même révélée à l'usage insuffisante –, devait dissuader de pratiquer là une autre sépulture. Le voisinage même de cette tombe n'invitait pas à inhumer aussi près d'elle le corps de l'apôtre qu'on voulait honorer tout spécialement. Là encore, si les hommes ont agi à l'inverse de ce qu'il paraissait raisonnable de faire, c'est qu'ils n'avaient pas le choix, c'est qu'ils se sont senti tenus de replacer le corps de Pierre le plus exactement possible à l'endroit où il se trouvait avant le début de leurs travaux. Si les ossements de l'apôtre n'ont reçu que l'abri précaire de quelques tuiles, c'est probablement parce qu'on n'a pas cru devoir leur en procurer d'autre que celui sous lequel on les avait trouvés. Quant aux travaux eux-mêmes, ils ont été entraînés par le désir d'aménager les lieux de façon à en faire un ensemble cohérent et à donner au monument projeté un mur de fond et un fond de

[11] *ibid.*, p. 133–134.

[12] Il est à remarquer que ce que nous appelons le mur rouge portait à son extrêmité Nord un enduit gris. Le revêtement rouge n'était-il pas destiné à faire ressortir le monument à colonnettes? Cf H. I. Marrou, *loc. cit.* col. 3313, n. 4.

décor.[12] Contrairement à ce qu'écrit M. Lemerle[13], le mur rouge a été élevé moins «en fonction de ce qui se trouvait à l'O., le clivus et l'area Q» qu'en fonction de ce qui allait se dresser à l'Est, la *memoria* de Pierre, et de ce qui demeurait à ses pieds, les restes de Pierre.

Dans cette perspective, la suite des événements qui se sont déroulés dans l'area P au cours des âges pourrait, semble-t-il, être reconstituée de la façon suivante. Vers 160, à l'occasion de l'érection du mur rouge et de la *memoria*, les restes de Pierre, qui probablement empiétaient légèrement sur l'emplacement où allait s'élever le mur, sont exhumés pour permettre les travaux. Au moment de les remettre en place, on s'aperçoit que les mesures ont été mal prises: le mur est trop épais pour que le corps puisse être inhumé à nouveau. C'est alors qu'on pratique sommairement la niche 1. La tombe recouverte du monument devait rester intacte jusqu'à cette soirée du 22 février 258 où, comme l'a montré M. Carcopino[14], un groupe de chrétiens, mettant à profit les festivités de la *cara cognatio* et le relâchement de surveillance qui en découle, entreprendra de transférer les restes à Catacumbas pour les mettre à l'abri de la persécution. Il n'est pas interdit de penser que ces hommes, pressés d'en finir, inquiets, gênés par la nuit et l'obligation de travailler sans lumière, une fois la terre ôtée, ont retiré les tuiles faîtières, déposé les ossements dans un coffret qu'ils avaient apporté avec eux[15]. Il n'est pas étonnant que dans ces circonstances, l'émotion et la précipitation aidant, ceux des ossements qui se trouvaient engagés dans la niche 1 aient été oubliés. Il est même permis de penser qu'en saisissant les tuiles de fond, s'il en existait comme dans plusieurs tombes voisines, par l'extrêmité Est, on ait fait glisser ces ossements jusqu'au point où on les a découverts. Dans le cas plus probable où la bière aurait été formée d'un caisson de terre cuite, il ne serait pas étonnant que, vieille de cent ans au

---

[13] *loc. cit.*

[14] *Etudes d'histoire chrétienne*, pp. 197–198. Je ne sais si on a accordé toute l'attention suffisante aux diverses facilités que la possibilité de traverser l'*Urbs* de nuit en chariot donnait aux ravisseurs.

[15] Carcopino, *De Pythagore aux apôtres*, p. 331, a dégagé la signification des dessins de la niche Marucchi: les corps des apôtres étaient contenus à Catacumbas dans «des coffrets dont la petitesse a facilité les déplacements».

moins en 258, (à supposer qu'elle n'ait pas daté de l'inhumation primitive), elle se soit disloquée au cours de la manœuvre nocturne du 22 février et que des ossements aient glissé jusqu'au point où on les a trouvés. De toute façon, ces ossements-là ne sont jamais allé à Catacumbas [15]. Lorsque les reliques reviendront de la voie Appienne le 18 janvier 336, il n'est pas absolument impossible qu'on les ait aperçus: comme on n'aura osé ni les retirer dans la pensée qu'ils appartenaient au corps de Pierre, ni les joindre à ceux qui revenaient d'exil dans le doute qui subsistait, on aura pris le parti moyen de les laisser en place. Cependant, le plus probable est qu'ils sont restés totalement inaperçus en raison de l'obscurité et de la distance qui les séparait du sol, distance plus considérable encore si, comme il est probable, les restes n'ont été ramenés de Catacumbas qu'une fois achevé le nouveau pavement, rehaussé de 25 à 35 centimètres par rapport au niveau primitif du sol. Plus tard, les reliques seront abritées dans la cachette du mur *g* devant la menace des invasions sarrasines et elles y seront saccagées.

Dans cette perspective, des restes du corps de saint Pierre seraient parvenus jusqu'à nous en deux endroits: d'une part les débris du mur *g*, mal protégés par la prudence humaine, d'autre part les ossements de la niche 1 préservés malgré cette même prudence. Telles sont les conclusions que nous nous risquons à proposer, sans nous dissimuler la part de conjecture qu'elles comportent [17].

Montpellier, Faculté des Lettres.

---

[16] Sur ce point nous sommes en accord avec J. Ruysschaert quand il écrit: «Nous concluons en disant que les fouilles vaticanes suggèrent une translation *ad Catacumbas* en 258, plutôt partielle . . .» (*Réflexions sur les fouilles vaticanes*, dans la *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, 1953, vol. XLVIII, p. 628).

[17] M. Carcopino suggère d'ouvrir le reliquaire de saint Pierre conservé au Latran, une analyse anatomique comparée de son contenu (si Championnet ne l'a pas vidé) et des ossements de la niche 1 pouvant permettre d'authentifier ces derniers. Il est certain que l'opération mérite d'être tentée. Un résultat négatif n'impliquerait pas, croyons-nous, le rejet de l'authenticité des ossements de la niche 1: quelle garantie nous offre en effet celle du contenu du reliquaire? En revanche, si l'analyse établissait l'identité des deux séries de restes, elle confirmerait du même coup avec éclat l'authenticité des uns et des autres.

ST. JEROME'S LIVES OF THE HERMITS [1]

BY

E. COLEIRO

St. Jerome's Three Lives of the Hermits, The Vita Pauli, written in 374 or 375, The Vita Hilarionis, written in 390 and The Vita Malchi, written in 391, form a group with particular features of its own.

In all three the setting of the scene follows immediately after the introduction. In two of them it is a brief geographical description of a place which the reader will understand to be the scene where the events of the narrative take place. In true rhetorical fashion it generally takes the shape of a pointed short sentence detached from its immediate context, for effect. One is tempted to suspect that Jerome is using a favourite formula of his old school days. Thus in M. 2: "Maronia triginta ferme millibus ab Antiochia urbe Syriae haud grandis distat viculus". Similar phraseology is used in H. 15 to name the place where one of Hilarion's miracles is worked: "Facidia viculus est Rhinocrurae urbis Aegypti". In Vita Pauli the setting of the scene is conducted on different lines and includes a description of the persecution of Decius and Valerian and its relation with the beginning of monasticism in Egypt.

The narrative is rounded off in the way of a conclusion in Vita Pauli and in Vita Malchi by a moral exhortation to the reader. In two instances Jerome inserts towards the end a personal note.

---

[1] The text used for this article is that of Migne, P. L. XXIII, Paris (1842–46). The following are bibliographical details of the works quoted or referred to in the article: Athanasius, Vita Sancti Antonii, P. G. XXVI, P. L. 73; De Labriolle, Histoire de la littérature latin chrétienne, Vol. II, p. 506, 2nd ed. Bardy, Paris (1924); De Labriolle, Vie de Paul de Thèbe et de Hilarion, Paris (1906); Fliche et Martin, Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, Vol. III, Paris (1930); Israël, W., Article on "Hilarion" in A. Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie,

In P. 18 he writes: "obsecro quicumque haec legis, ut Hieronymi peccatoris memineris" etc., and in M. 12: "haec mihi senex Malchus adulescentulo rettulit; haec vobis narravi senex". A similar allusion to his old age is made by Jerome in closing the panegyric of Paula: "Vale, Paula, et cultoris tui ultimam senectutem orationibus iuva" (Ep. 108.33.I).

The narrative part, except for Vita Hilarionis, has no definite biographical scheme, but it is made to subserve a higher motive. Vita Pauli is meant to illustrate the beginnings of monasticism and to idealise the personality of Paul as its founder; Vita Malchi is meant to show how virginity can be cherished and guarded even in the most difficult circumstances. In these two Lives the biographical details, apart from those which subserve the main purpose are scanty and may almost be considered as introductory. Thus in Paul out of 14 biographical paragraphs the events leading up to or illustrating the friendship between Paul and Antony occupy 10 paragraphs (7–16). Similarly in Malchus out of 9 biographical paragraphs, five (6–10) relate how he succeeded in keeping his virginity in captivity.

In Vita Hilarionis, written in 391, we have the only attempt at a comprehensive narrative of a whole life, although even here, biography is subordinated to a higher theme, which is devotional rather than biographical: asceticism as impersonated in Hilarion. In the scheme of Hilarion's Life we have a perfect essay. After the first three paragraphs which contain the introduction, a brief account of Hilarion's birth, parentage and education, his visit to

---

XXII p. 129 sqq., Jena, (1880); Wingarten, J., in Hauch-Herzog, Realenzyclopädie für protestantische Theologie, 2nd ed., X, p. 789; Cassianus Joannes, P. L. LVIV, Instituta coenobiorum et collectiones Patruum; Sulpicius Severus, P. L. XX, Dial. xviii; Augustinus, De Civ. Dei, 15, 27; Eutropius, P. L. LXXX, 9–20, para. 12; Isidorus, P. L. LXXXI, Orig. 9; Ammianus Marcellinus, Rerum Gestarum Libri qui supersunt, ed. C. U. Clark, Berlin (1910); Sozomen, Historia Ecclesiastica, transl. by C. D. Hartrought in "A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church", Vol. II, New York; Orosius, C. S. E. L. Vol. V; Socrates, Hist. Eccl., P. G. LXVII; Freemantle, W. H., Vita Hilarionis in "A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church", Vol. VI, New York (1983); Nicephorus, Opuscula Historica, in the Bibliotheca Teubneriana ed. by C. de Boor, Leipsig (1880).

Antony and his decision to settle in the desert, the sequence of the remaining paragraphs 4–47 is not a continuous annalistic treatment of events, but events are grouped together according to similarity or relationship and the transition from one group to another is clearly marked: para: 4 treats of his fasting; para: 5–8 his temptations; para: 9–11 the various stages of his long life as characterised by a continuous intensification of his austerities; para: 12 stands by itself and is almost an introduction to the next twelve chapters which deal with Hilarion's miracles. There is a system even in recounting these miracles: ten paragraphs deal with those worked on human beings, one in each paragraph (para: 13–22); para: 23 deals with those worked on animals; para: 24 brings this part of the narrative to a climax by relating of many miracles together, very much in the same way as in the panegyrical epistles the sequence of virtues is often closed by a collective statement about all of them together. The next five paragraphs (24–28) deal with the rise of monasticism in Palestine and the visitation of the many monasteries by Hilarion. Para: 29–43 deal with Hilarion's wanderings; para: 44–45 with his death, and the last two with the idealisation which usually followed.

JEROME'S HISTORICAL METHODS

There is no doubt that in writing these four pieces Jerome claimed to be writing history. But history according to Jerome could be written in more than one way. It could be treated in the strictly scientific way of the De Viris Illustribus where the writer's purpose is limited to the bare exposition of facts, and it could be elaborated by a machinery of rhetorical adjuncts so as to provide entertainment as well as information. The latter method is followed in the three Lives.

The basic historical facts are embellished by fictitious dialogues, fanciful details, elaborate descriptions and imaginary situations which are, no doubt, meant by Jerome to make the narrative more entertaining and vivid. Such a method was not altogether foreign to classical literature. The invented speeches of Thucydides, Sallust, Livy and Tacitus subserve a somewhat similar purpose. That the more fanciful methods of Jerome were considered in the fourth century as compatible with history, at any rate in its

more popular forms, e.g. biography, is evident from their use by other writers, e.g. Athanasius in his Life of Antony. Jerome himself testifies to this artificial elaboration in the Lives. In Ep. 10.3 which was sent to Paul of Concordia along with a copy of the newly composed Life of Paul Jerome confesses that although he has tried to soften his rhetorical methods he could hardly cast them off completely, so deeply ingrained in his art were those methods.

Adjuncts of a fictitious character are particularly conspicuous in Vita Pauli. Such are some of the miraculous details like that of Antony finishing his journey so quickly "ut instar avis pervolaret" (P. 15), Antony's finding Paul's dead body still kneeling with hands raised in an attitude of prayer (P. 15), the dialogues between Paul and Antony (P. 9–10), the digging of Paul's tomb by lions (P. 16).

In 'Hilarion' and 'Malchus' the rhetorical adjuncts take the form of imaginary enlargements embellishing the description of true facts. So in H. 18: "ac sic reflexa super humeros manu caput eius tetigit, apprehensoque crine ante pedes (Hilarion) adduxit, stringens e regione ambas manus eius, et plantas utroque calcans pede, simulque ingeminans, torquere, ait, daemonum turba, torquere". Again, when we are told of the earthquake following on the death of Julian: "naves ad praerupta delatae montium pependerunt" (H. 40), and that when brought by the people of Epidaurus to the shore to stem the tide and Hilarion made the sign of the cross on the ground, "incredibili dictu est ad quantam altitudinem intumescens mare ante eum steterit" (H. 40), one might well believe the bare fact of the miracle, but one cannot help feeling that the details are mere rhetorical ornaments.

One need hardly note that these methods, far from embellishing the narrative, detract from its historical value. Indeed, once the possibility of non-historical additions is admitted, no narrative, especially one involving miracles, can claim unqualified truth. The fact that Jerome did not realise that shows that he lacked to a considerable degree the critical eye which is so necessary to the historian.

Indeed, apart from conscious additions, Jerome is often unable to draw a definite line between reality and legend. While the broad fact of a life of holiness resulting from the complex of events

narrated is no doubt genuine, some details whose veracity Jerome does not doubt are too fanciful to win unqualified belief. Such is the hippocentaur of P. 7 and the mannikin of P. 8 and some of the details of the voyage of Hilarion.

The Life of Paul, written in 374 approx. has a peculiarity of its own. It betrays a quest for details, which though irrelevant as regards the main historical significance of the composition, are evidently inserted as an appeal and stimulant to the curiosity of the reader. So the little episode of the dispute between Paul and Antony over the breaking of the bread, and the final agreement that each should hold the loaf on his own side, pull towards himself, and keep the part left in his hands! Such 'curiosity' details are similar to those with which Suetonius fills his Lives. As time passed Jerome improved on these methods for the Lives on Hilarion and Malchus written about fifteen years later do not show much trace of them. From 390 onwards Jerome's tendency is to summarise events and group them together rather than go into their details thereby keeping closer to Tacitan than to Suetonian methods. This is also the case of the narrative parts of the panegyrical epistles, all of which are written after that date.

In the treatment of the narrative Jerome shows some shortcomings. Like Nepos he hurries over his subject, taking a loose and undefined view of events, bridging them over without much care for the gaps in between and producing all along a sense of indefiniteness, betraying that superficial simplicity of narrative which we are used to attach to primitive literature, and which in the Middle Ages made epic degenerate into ballad poetry. As a rule, the scene changes continually without much recalling of earlier happenings or repercussions of earlier upon later events. Thus we follow Hilarion in quick succession to Betulium, Lychnos, Theubatus, Babylon, Aphroditon, Alexandria, Bruchium, Lybia, Sicily, Epidaurus and Cyprus, at all of which places his fame spreads wide with his miracles. But we are never told what results his influence might have produced when he was there. We are continually hurried on to the next stage. Similarly with Malchus, as the scene changes from Maronia to the desert of Chalcis, to that of Arabia, to the Roman camp further on, and finally to Mesopotamia, we learn very little of the surroundings with which

he had been in touch. Indeed, the Lives of Paul and Malchus read very much like ballads in prose.

Even more serious from the historical point of view is the lack of proper connection between the Lives and major events in Church or contemporary history. We are told that Hilarion was the first monk in Palestine and it is hinted that many came and joined him. One might well suppose that such a vast community was the beginning of monasticism in that country, that such a movement may well have had connections with the monasticism of other countries such as Egypt. A few lines after the information that many came to share Hilarion's hermit life we are almost abruptly introduced to many monasteries, seemingly properly set up and organised, and well on the way to a reasonable stability. But we are not told anything about how it all came about, what part Hilarion may have had in their organisation, what was their way of life, what happened to the monastic movement after Hilarion's departure from Palestine. There is no trace of any repercussions of such a vast and powerful movement on the Church as a whole or even in Palestine itself. Indeed, we get much more information in that line from stray allusions in the letters than from these Lives which are supposed to treat 'ex professo' of the beginnings of monasticism. One might overlook the absence of such details in a biographical letter which by its epostolary nature, is detached from extraneous events and reflects a particular psychological moment of the writer and his limited sphere of events and experiences, but one would expect such details in literary pieces which Jerome meant to be considered as history. In reading these three Lives one has to build up for oneself a connected historical picture with the isolated historical facts which the writer gives almost, one feels, in spite of himself. It is like the disconnected glimpses of a hidden sky that one would get if a cloud covering the whole length and breath of it were to break up in parts and let one see a few patches of what is beyond.

Too much emphasis is lavished on the central figure of the essay. Paul, Antony, Hilarion, Malchus are heroes, indeed. Their superhuman moral strength not only dwarfs all the other human beings around them but is even more powerful than the forces of nature itself. The monstrous hippocentaur may well gnash his teeth

through his bristling lips; Antony is not to be stopped by any weird sight (P. 7 & 8), and later, faces the approaching lions as if they were doves (P. 16); Satan in vain tries his hardest in roaring like a lion or in jumping on Hilarion's back and driving his heels into his sides (H. 8); the enormous and frenzied Bacterian camel with bloodshot eyes and foaming mouth is no terror for the saint: Hilarion stretches forth his hand and goes to meet it (H. 23). In another instance he stands upon the prow of the vessel which is being chased by pirates, bravely faces them and stretches out his hands with an order: "hucusque ... venisse sufficiat". The ships of the pirates fall back, and "impellentibus contra remis ad puppim impetus rediit" (H. 41).

One feels all along that emphasis is synonymous with drama. Indeed, whenever a particular situation requires vividness, even when only minor characters are involved, overstress is conspicuous. Thus on Malchus refusing to take for his wife one who was already married, his master, who, after all, has no particular interest in the matter, "implacabilis in furorem versus, evaginato me coepit petere gladio" (M. 6). Malchus and his companion after effecting their escape are overtaken by their master who has followed them for three days to bring them back. Fancying to have them again in his hands, he brandishes the sword of punishment shouting: "exite furciferi, exite morituri".

Overstress was certainly one of the characteristics of the 'Silver' Age writers. Tacitus used it with masterly effect in delineating the character of Tiberius. But there he had a great personality and the fate of an empire to work upon. When the same method is applied to a little biography with a very limited appeal all the effect is lost through sheer lack of proportion, and emphasis sometimes degenerates into absurdity as in the case of the Panegyrici Latini. Jerome, here, shows himself hardly any better than the latter.

THE HERO

Though there is an attempt at psychological analysis in some of the characters mentioned, it is only one personality that is continually in the limelight. Indeed, one of the faults of Silver Age literature was the breaking down of the many distinctions between

prose and poetry. Epic as Virgil finally shaped it had one central figure on whom the whole narrative with its many appeals for bravery and devotion was focussed, and this centralisation of epic effect was developed into a perfect idealisation. The Silver prose writers followed suit as far as they could. Pliny's description of his uncle at the eruption of Vesuvius is a good instance (Epp. VI, 16 and 20). The man of science is perfectly calm at the new phenomenon which threatens to engulf all the neighbourhood in a flood of burning stones. While panic spreads around he is imperturbable; he even makes up his mind to go up to the mountain as far as that would be possible to study the new phenomenon. But first he dines, bathes, and lies down for his siesta, after which he proceeds to accomplish what he had resolved upon, only to meet his death. In reading that letter of Pliny one feels that the principal aim of the writer was to idealise his uncle for all time as a martyr of science. The same method is followed by Tacitus in drawing the character of Agricola. Similarly Jerome works upon these two basic ideas: one-hero narrative and idealisation of the hero's personality.

Paul, Hilarion, Malchus, are the sole heroes. Only in Vita Pauli have we a second personality of some importance, that of Antony, but he occupies a secondary place and serves to offset and enhance the idealisation of the principal figure Paul. In Vita Malchi the woman who shares Malchus's captivity plays as heroic a part as the latter does in the preservation of her virginity; still, her personality is hardly dwelt upon at all: we are not even told her name.

The heroes in Jerome's narratives are not simply morally great, they not only tower above all the other personalities mentioned, they are faultless, almost superhuman; and if there is any trace of human weakness in them it is only that which does not clash with their moral greatness – indeed, it might even enhance it. Such is the kindness of heart of Hilarion which makes him so readily sympathise with suffering as to shed tears over it: "sed et ipse (Hilarion) negans flevit" (H. 14). So also in P. 8 and H. 43.

Jerome's trained eye does not let pass anything in the minor characters which might offer a psychological analysis. Thus the clumsiness of the imperial lieutenant of Frankish origin who offers

money for having been healed is noted in H. 22, but these are just passing remarks or are made use of so as to put the personality of the hero into still greater relief.

It is therefore the building of a heroic personality rather than its history that is sought by Jerome, and in Malchus just one particular view of that personality: love for virginity in Malchus. This was not new to Latin literature. Livy himself takes not a very different view of history, and the events recorded in his earlier books, conspicuously in the second, are continually culminating in such idealised figures as Mucius Scaevola, Clelia, Coriolanus, Horatius, etc. Where Jerome stops far short of Livy is the lack of connection between such heroic figures and a broad view of current events, as has been noted earlier in this essay. In this sense Jerome is perhaps nearer to Cornelius Nepos than any other Roman writer. Like Nepos he gives us not history but detached historical pictures.

One can trace certain fixed methods by which this ideal personality of the hero is built up in all the three compositions of which we are treating. The most conspicuous quality is *fortitude* in facing all sorts of hardships. In Vita Pauli, para: 17 is a summary of the self-imposed abnegations of Paul. In Vita Hilarionis, para: 9–11 are a climax in the ever-increasing austerities that Hilarion subjected himself to. In such instances as "inde cum se videret corpore defatigatum ... pane abstinuit, incredibili fervore mentis ut eo tempore quasi novus accederet ad servitutem Domini, in quo ceteri solent remissius vivere (H. 11); and "mirentur alii *incredibilem abstinentiam,* scientiam, *humilitatem*; ego nihil ita *stupeo quam gloriam illum calcare potuisse*" (H. 30), moral fortitude is dwelt upon with emphasis. Malchus's way of life as a monk is given in a nut-shell in M. 3: "ibi repertis monachis eorum me magisterio tradidi, manuum labore victum quaeritans *lasciviamque carnis refrenans ieiuniis*".

The personality of the heroes is also enhanced by their *will-power* which does not let itself be ruled by circumstances of any sort. Thus Paul for a long time refuses admittance to Antony until the latter has quite explained his coming; he keeps his point in not breaking the bread, as he considered that honour due to his guest. Hilarion is unmoved by the entreaties of ten thousand

people who had gathered to dissuade him from departing from Palestine (H. 30). Malchus would not be persuaded by his superior, and leaves the monastery (M. 3).

The *supernatural*, also, plays a great part. In Hilarion twelve miracles are related in detail and many others hinted at. Paul is miraculously fed by a raven (P. 10), and keeps his praying posture after death, and lions dig his tomb (l.c.). The supernatural takes also the shape of prophecy and the knowledge of hidden things. Paul prophesies his death to Antony (P. 11 & 12); Hilarion prophesies the destruction of the monasteries in Palestine (H. 30 & 33) and announces the death of Antony although no news had as yet come of it (H. 29).

Lastly the hero-idealisation is sought by *contrast with other characters* in the same composition: these are either inferior in some respect to the hero or lack his outstanding virtues. In Ep. 1, the heroine's fortitude and steadfastness are contrasted both with the youth's weakness in admitting a false crime against himself in order to escape torture, and with the executioner's plight in giving himself for vanquished as well as with the fickleness of the people who are so easily swayed from their purpose. The moral figure of Paul becomes even greater when Antony acknowledges him by far his superior in virtue (P. 7). In Vita Hil. many are the situations which show this moral superiority. The hero does not share the alarm of his brethren in a difficult situation. Before the strong youth, who in his raging madness, could not endure chains or fetters, had broken the bars and bolts of the doors, bitten off the ears and noses of many, and broken the feet and legs of others, the brethren "perterriti . . . nuntiaverunt patri." But Hilarion, without even moving 'sicut sedebat' ordered that he should be brought to him and let free 'et dimitti' (H. 17). Fearlessly he goes to face the mad camel while "qui cum sene (Hilarione) erant usque ad unum omnes diffugere" (H. 23). When the possessed Orion is brought to him and greatly alarms everybody by taking the saint by the waist and raising him as if he were going to dash him on the ground, "clamor ortus est ab omnibus". But Hilarion smiles and reassures them: "silete et mihi meum palaestritam demittite" (H. 18). When the pirates close upon Hilarion's ship, "remiges omnes qui in navi erant trepidare, flere, discurrere,

praeparare contos, et quasi non sufficeret unus nuntius, certatim seni piratas adesse dicebant". But Hilarion is perfectly composed. Indeed, "eos ille procul videns subrisit, et conversus ad discipulos dixit: 'Modicae fidei, quid trepidatis?'" (H. 41).

The rethorical building of characters is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that the heroes of the Lives are all of one type. There may be more prolific activity in Hilarion in terms of miracles and the founding of monasteries, but the basic quality on which Jerome builds their personality is one and the same: his own idea of a hermit, his own experiences of monastic life. The will-power developed by deep faith in an ideal which makes Malchus pursue his vocation in the desert even at the risk of quarrelling with his parents who were averse to the idea of monastic life is Jerome's own story. The perfect contempt of the world, the craving for solitude, prayer, asceticism, are not only common to the three heroes but they correspond perfectly to the injunctions which Jerome gives in his Letters. Indeed, they are the reflection of Jerome's own life. Even the study of the Scriptures, so intimately connected with Jerome's activities as a monk and as a writer, is one of the occupations of his heroes. Paul's language echoes Scriptural quotations: Hilarion had learned the Scripture by heart and used to recite pieces of it every day (H. 10); at the approach of the imperial officers he was humming to himself a passage of the psalms (H. 22); on the voyage from Libya to Sicily the only thing he carries with him is a copy of the Gospels (H. 35). Malchus relates his adventures with colourful details taken from the Biblical stories of Jacob and Moses (M. 7); recollects his past reading of the Book of Proverbs (M. 7), and sings psalms he has learned in the monasteries (M. 5).

ROMANCE

The charm of the Lives lies mainly in their romantic setting. Though the reader may be disappointed if he seeks any great historical value in the details under review, their appeal to the imagination and their romantic associations make them undeniably delightful works of art. Romance is not one of the chief characteristics of Roman literature, considered as a whole, and when we do find it, it is mainly borrowed from the mythological lore of the

Alexandrines. Thus it is with the Metamorphoses of Ovid and the episode of Aristaeus in the 4th book of the Georgics. But even here it is of a very restricted and materially defined nature with very little appeal to feeling. It is in the 3rd, 4th and 6th books of the Aeneid that we find real romance with the double appeal to imagination and feeling. Indeed, this has been considered as an indication of Celtic blood in the Cisalpine Virgil! Apuleius developed the idea of romance for its own sake and based it on the supernatural in terms of the magic which in the East had been as old as some of the books of the Old Testament, although, curiously enough, Greece and Rome had somehow escaped it. Rome's touch with the East, indeed, had never been very close, not even in imperial times, and the East had never been Romanised. It was quite late, in the second century A.D. that Eastern influences in religion and ideas began to be seriously felt, and with these magic was to some extent associated. Apuleius, recasting a Greek story, is a good example of this influence, and his work may be considered not only as an attempt at a fusion between Roman mythology and magical Eastern lore but also as a forerunner of medieval romance. Jerome's romance has echoes of both Virgil and Apuleius.

The particular element of romance which connects Jerome with Apuleius and his own Age is the use of the weird. A sense of the weird was not lacking in Virgil, but in the Aeneid it is based on stories which were well known in mythology and legend and therefore lacked the important element of surprise. In Jerome, as in Apuleius and in Medieval imagination, we have strange sights and unearthly appearances of a supernatural character. Such are the means by which the devil tries to impede Antony from reaching Paul (P. 7). At one time it is a hippocentaur, half man, half horse who "barbarum nescio quid infrendens, et frangens potius verba quam proloquens, inter horrentia ora setis, blandum quaesivit alloquium" (P. 7). Next it is a manikin "aduncis naribus, fronte cornibus asperata, cuius extrema pars corporis in caprarum pedes desinebat" (P. 8), not dissimilar from the representation of the Devil in medieval imagination. Hilarion at night is haunted by strange noises: "infantum coepit audire vagitus, balatus pecorum, mugitus boum, planctum quasi muliercularum, leonum rugitus, murmur exercitus, et rursus variarum portenta vocum, ut ante

sonitu quam aspectu territus cederet" (H. 6). And, again, "tam innumerabilium per noctes et dies daemonum voces resonabant ut exercitum crederes" (H. 43). Terrifying sights follow, "cum interim ex improviso splendente luna cernit rhedam ferventibus equis super se irruere, cumque inclamasset Jesum ante oculos eius repentino terrae hiatu pompa omnis absorta est" (H. 6). His prayers are frequently interrupted by gruesome visions: "interdum orantem lupus ululans et vulpecula ganniens transilivit, psallentique gladiatorum pugna spectaculum praebuit; et unus quasi interfectus, et ante eius corruens, sepulturam rogavit" (H. 7). On another occasion his prayers are violently interrupted: "transilit dorso eius agitator ... calcibus, cervicem, flagello verberans" (H. 8). Magic plays also a part. The youth in H. 21 seeks the help of magic arts to succeed in his love suit; and in H. 20 the pagans of Gaza have recourse to black magic in their vain attempt of winning the chariot race.

Another way to create an atmosphere of romance is to present the reader continually with unexpected situations. It was a device used in the rhetorical schools. In Inst. Orat. 8.6.51 Quintilian notes that the unexpected has a special attraction in eloquence: "est enim grata in eloquentia novitas ... et magis inopinata delectant", and in 9.2.81 he gives an example of the use made of it in the declamations of the schools.

In P. 10, when Antony visits Paul a meal is suddenly provided for both by a raven which brings down a loaf to them. When Antony comes on his second visit he beholds the corpse of the dead Paul still kneeling with uplifted hands in an attitude of prayer. When he is at a loss how to bury his friend, two lions come forth from the desert and quickly dig a grave for him. Hilarion is being entertained by the monks at Bruchium when he leaves the monastery in the middle of the night giving an enigmatic reason which none of the monks could at the moment understand. When the runaway Malchus is on the point of being recaptured by his master, a lioness unexpectedly comes out of the inner recesses of the cave in which he had taken refuge and kills his would-be captor. The behaviour of characters is often too deep to be easily understood and they act in a wholly unexpected way. So Paul for a long time refuses admittance to Antony and when it

comes to dividing the loaf for their meal they strangely contend about who is to break it, each one refusing to allow himself that honour.

The spirit of adventure especially in the quest for the unexplored is another element of Jerome's romance. Paul goes into the desert to escape persecution, but the desert's adventurous beauties soon make him drop any idea of returning home. A cave in a mountain side awakens his adventurous spirit for exploration: "ut est cupiditas hominum occulta cognoscere" (P. 5). He enters and advances step by step, carefully feeling his way, stopping now and again to listen for any sound and scarcely daring to breathe. Hilarion's journeys are full of this quest for ever new experiences. The bold undertaking of Malchus to run away from his master and the many hair-breadth escapes he and his companion go through are full of romantic adventure.

An important factor of Jerome's romance is his taste for description. The subject-matter of the Lives lends itself to descriptions, and the very fact that narrative art requires a subdued tone exercises a salutary effect of restraint on Jerome and the Lives' descriptions read more naturally and less in the nature of purple patches than elsewhere.

Beauties of nature are in the Lives described with considerable feeling. The corner of the desert to which Paul retreated is a spot of beauty: "(Paulus) animadvertit intus grande vestibulum, quod, aperto desuper coelo, patulis diffusa ramis vetus palma contexerat, fontem lucidissimum ostendens cuius rivum tantummodo foras erumpentem statim modico foramine eadem quae genuerat aquas terra sorbebat" (P. 5). Hilarion's abode and garden in the neighbourhood of Aphroditon is described at some length: "saxeus et sublimis mons per mille circiter passus, ad radices suas aquas exprimit, quarum alias arenae ebibunt, aliae ad inferiora delapsae, paulatim rivum efficiunt; super quem ex utraque ripa palmae innumerabiles multum loco et amoenitatis et commodi tribuunt ... has vites, has arbusculas ipse (Antonius) plantavit: illam areolam manibus suis ipse composuit hanc piscinam ad irrigandum hortulum multo sudore fabricatus est" (H. 31). His abode in Cyprus is described with a similar eye for nature's beauties: "Qui (Hilarion) introgressus, contemplatus quidem est terribilem

valde et remotum locum hinc inde circumdatum, habentem etiam aquas de supercilio collis irriguas et hortulum peramoenum, et pomaria plurima" (H. 43). The garden of pleasure in which the youthful martyr was to be allured to sin is a place of beauty: "inter lilia candentia et rubentes rosas cum leni iuxta murmure aquarum serperet rivus, et molli sibilo arborum folia ventus praestringeret" (P. 3). The sandy wastes of the desert have also their appeal: "inter mare et paludem vasta et terribili solitudine fruebatur" (P. 4).

One of the secrets of Jerome's success in these descriptions is his quest for stray adjectives, adverbs, phrases which glow with descriptive brilliance. In Vita Pauli, 9, the she-wolf gasps with parching thirst "sitis ardoribus *anhelantem*"; Antony kisses the eyes and hands of Paul "*silentio* lacrymans" (P. 12); Paul goes up to heaven "*niveo* candore fulgentem" (P. 14); Hilarion's pagan parentage is poetically expressed "rosa de spinis floruit" (H. 2); the giant snake drags in both the sheep and the shepherds with its mighty breath "vis spiritus absorbebat" (H. 39); the sword of Malchus's master shines even in the dark: "in tenebris quoque micantem gladium (M. 6); the lioness flies at the throat of her victim and drags him covered with blood, "gutture suffocato cruentum intro trahere".

The eye for detail enhances the fullness of Jerome's pictures. Thus in describing the attack of the Ishmaelites in M. 4: "at ecce subito equorum camelorumque sessores Ishmahaelitae irruunt, crinitis vittatisque capitibus ac seminudo corpore, pallia et latas caligas trahentes; pendebant ex humero faretrae; laxos arcus vibrantes, hastilia longa portabant, non enim ad pugnandum sed ad praedam venerant".

Psychological situations are well analysed. Masterful is the description of the state of suspense of the run-away Malchus and his companion when from their hiding place they see their late master and his slave approaching sword in hand: "quid putas fuisse nobis animi, quid terroris, cum ante speluncam nec longe starent dominus et conservus, et vestigio indice iam ad latebras pervenissent? O multo gravior expectata quam illata mors! rursus cum labore et timore lingua balbutit; et quasi clamante domino mutire non audeo" (M. 9).

Most important of all, Jerome knows how to impart a character

to his descriptions. Situations and scenes are presented as suggesting some particular feeling or central idea to the formation of which the sequence of events and the grouping of details work up: the reader sees the scene under the influence of that sentiment. Thus a sense of seduction pervades the beauties in the garden of P. 3; the charm of the simple joys of nature is suggested in the description of Antony's garden in H. 31; a sense of excitement pervades the description of the chariot race in H. 20 and we seem to follow the two teams flying towards the goal while the wheels glow hot beneath the chariots and the shout of the crowd swells into a roar; a sense of terror is suggested in the description of the Bacterian beast with its enormous size, its bloodshot eyes, its mouth filled with foam, its rolling tongue swollen, its loud and hideous roar, while thirty men exert themselves to hold it tight with ropes (H. 23); one feels the tranquillity and peace of the desert in the shepherd life that Malchus leads in M. 5.

The romantic vision is given a new colour, expecially in Paul and Malchus, by a strong appeal to the pathetic. So in M. 7 where Malchus, as he sits by himself in the desert tending his master's sheep, begins to ponder on his past happiness, and the recollection of his friends the monks, of the superior who had instructed him, of the joys of community life which he has lost, makes him feel the weight of his captivity and regret the blessings he has been deprived of. But apart from such passages there is a genuine feeling for asceticism, for the ideal of the monastic vocation with its aspiration to holiness, its utter contempt of all worldly considerations, and for the glory that will crown the efforts of the ascetic. It is such a feeling that inspires Antony's description of Paul in P. 13: "vidi Eliam, vidi Joannem in deserto, et vere vidi Paulum in paradiso", and Paul's yearning towards the happiness of a future life in P. 11: "quia dormitionis meae tempus advenit, et quod semper cupiebam dissolvi et esse cum Christo, peracto cursu superest mihi corona iustitiae". Paul, Antony, Hilarion live a life completely detached from the world around them, engulfed as they are in an ideal which is enough to be an inspiration for a lifetime. The belief in this ideal which trascends material values and severs one from his surroundings and makes him live a fuller inner life with experiences so deep in their spirituality as to be,

often, incomprehensible even to his intimate friends, engenders a pathos which the reader can feel rather than express. In this sense Jerome's romantic spirit is close to Virgil and much nearer to the Medieval visionary imagination than Apuleius, for all his magic, could be.

ARE THE LIVES ROMANCES?

De Labriolle in his "Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne" (new edition by Bardy), Vol. II, p. 506, is confident that the Lives are romances intended for popular edification. He compares them to fairy-tales, but, of course, tales with a moral. The same opinion he expresses in his chapter on monasticism in Fliche et Martin, Vol. III, pp. 308–310. This is more or less a return to the theory first suggested and elaborated in Germany about eighty years ago by Israel and Weingarten with regards to the Life of Hilarion. In consequence one may ask whether Jerome meant the Lives to be considered as history or as fiction.

As far as Jerome's own statements go, there is no doubt that he intended the Lives to be considered as history, and he takes great pains to stress that. In P. 1 he refers to other Lives of Paul written earlier and condemns them for lack of historical truth, comparing their fanciful fiction with his own sobriety in keeping to ascertainable facts: "nonnulli haec et alia prout voluntas tulit iactitant: subterraneo specu crinitum calcaneo tenus hominem fuisse et multi alia quae persequi otiosum est incredibilia fingentes. Quorum quia impudens mendacium fuit nec refellenda quidem sententia videtur. igitur ... pauca de Pauli principio et fine scribere disposui ... quomodo autem in media aetate vixerit et quas Satanas perduxerit insidias nulli hominum compertum habetur". In the prologue of Hilarion he refers to the criticism which the Vita Pauli had met with in some quarters at its publication, and both reaffirms the historical truth of that narrative and stresses the veracity of his own account of Hilarion. Similarly in M. 1 he enlarges on the veracity of the narrative of Malchus and stresses that he had heard the story from Malchus himself.

The fact that about Paul no accounts earlier than Jerome are extant does not necessarily imply that Jerome's narrative is mere fiction. If Jerome's enemies criticised the Vita Pauli, as indeed

they criticised everything Jerome published, the many translations made of it in many languages soon after its publication (six in Greek, one in Coptic, one in Syriac and one in Ethiopian) are evidence enough that many received it with favour. Cassian (Coll. XVIII. 5) and Sulpicius Severus (Dial. 1. XVIII), writing after Jerome, accept his account of Paul.

Besides, a few details in 'Paul' and 'Malchus' find confirmation in other writers. The story of the young man in P. 3 is found in Nicephorus, Hist. 7. 13, although it is there given as having happened in the persecution of Diocletian, not of Decius and Valerian. The belief in the existence of Fauns, Satyrs and Incubi (P. 8) is shared by Augustine in De Civ. Dei, 15.23, by Eutropius (para 12), by Isidorus (Orig. 9) and Plutarch in his Life of Sulla. Jerome himself mentions them again in Isai. 12. The fact that Sabinianus was the Roman governor of the frontier province of Mesopotamia when the events related in 'Malchus' took place (M. 10) is supported by Ammianus Marcellinus (18.4).

The evidence for Hilarion is stronger. Sozomen in Eccl. Hist. 3.14 (independant of Jerome) confirms Jerome's account about Hilarion's birth, his asceticism, his miracles and his burial first in Cyprus and afterwards in Palestine; and in 5.15 he says that his grandfather who had been a pagan was converted to Christianity on witnessing a miracle of Hilarion in Palestine. He does not mention Hilarion's voyages but agrees that Hilarion died in Cyprus. The earthquake of H. 40 is confirmed by Orosius 8.32, Socrates, Hist. Eccl. 4.3, and Ammianus Marcellinus 27.

Such considerations lead us to reject the opinion that the Lives are romances. We feel inclined to endorse Freemantle who, admitting in Vita Hilarionis statements which attach it to genuine history, writes (p. 303): "A theory started in Germany that it (the Life of Hilarion) was a sort of religious romance seems destitute of foundation". To what extent facts are rhetorically elaborated and embellished by fictitious additions, as well as the shortcomings of Jerome as an historian we have discussed above.

In conclusion we may say that the Lives are delightful in their romantic charm but show faulty historical methods and, especially in Hilarion, overelaboration in drawing the hero's character. The facts are rhetorically elaborated and embellished by fictitious adjuncts, but, fundamentally, they represent historical truth.

The University of Malta

BOETHIUS AND ANDRONICUS OF RHODES

BY

JAMES SHIEL

G. Pfligersdorffer has recently described the attitude of the ancient editor, Andronicus of Rhodes, towards the final notes in Aristotle's *Categories* on opposites, simultaneity, priority, motion and possession – what the medievals called the *postpraedicamenta*. [1] The scholar has based his intricate arguments on a passage of Boethius' commentary on the *Categories*, and as this passage in the printed editions [2] is syntactically unintelligible he has suggested an emended text of it. Here is the passage as printed, with his emendations [3] alongside and list of variants beneath:

---

[1] G. Pfligersdorffer, "Andronikos von Rhodos und die Postprädikamente bei Boethius" (*Vigiliae Christianae* 7 (1953), 98–115).

[2] ed. Glareanus, Basel, 1546; reprinted (badly) in Migne *PL* 64.

[3] based on MSS *Clm.* 6403, *Claustr.* 671, *Rivip.* 83 (= UBδ in my list) and on the Basel and Migne editions.

(Migne *PL* 64, 263b)

3	sed Andronicus	
4	hanc esse adiectionem	
	Aristotelis non putat, simul-	
5	que illud arbitratur	
	idcirco ab eo fortasse hanc ad-	
6	iectionem de oppositis et de	
	his quae simul sunt et	
7	de priore et de motu et de	
	aequivocatione habendi	
8	non esse factam, quod hunc	esse non factam — quod hunc
	libellum ante Topica	libellum ante Topica
9	scripserit, quodque haec	scripserit — quod haec
	ad illud opus non necessaria	ad illud opus non necessaria
10	esse putaverit sicut ipsae	esse putaverit sicut ipsae
	Categoriae prosunt ad	Categoriae prosint ad
11	sensum Topicorum, non	scientiam Topicorum, hoc
	ignorans scilicet quod	ignorans scilicet
12	sufficienter in Topicis,	sufficienter in Topicis,
	quantum ad argumenta	quantum ad argumenta
	pertinebat,	pertinebat,
13	et de his omnibus quae	
	adiecta sunt, et de praedica-	
14	mentis fuisse propositum.	
	sed haec Andronicus. Por-	
15	phyrius vero . . .	

4 Aristotilis *Clm* 6403
5 iccirco *Claustr.* 671 foritasse *Clm* 6403 habeo *Riv.* 83
7 equivocatione *Riv* 83
8 non esse *Clm* 6403, *Migne*
9 scripserit (*altera* i *ex* a) *Clm* 6403 quodque *ed. Basil.* 1546, *Migne* hoc *pro* haec *Riv* 83
10 Cathegoriae *Clm* 6403, *Riv* 83 prosunt *Clm* 6403, *Claustr* 671, *ed. Basil.*, *Migne* scientiam) sensum *Migne*
11 hoc) hanc quoque (*s.l.add.*.s.adiectionem) adiectionem *Clm* 6403: hanc quoque (scilicet adiectionem *s.l.add. m.*2) *Claustr* 671: hoc *Riv* 83 quod sufficienter *Migne*
13 et *ante* de his *deest Claustr* 671 omnibus his *Claustr* 671

On the basis of the passage thus emended [4] the author argues that: (a) Andronicus does not imply that Aristotle was not the

[4] It may be noted that the suggested emendations do not remove the awkwardness of the double *quod*-clause.

real author of the postpraedicamenta but only that Aristotle was not responsible for annexing them to the Categories; (b) Andronicus wanted to detach these postpraedicamenta and so he trumped up the reason that Aristotle did not think them as good an introduction to the Topics as the Categories themselves; (c) in taking this line Andronicus was really fathering on Aristotle a contemporary pedagogic notion about the order in which the Aristotelian works should be read in school – making Aristotle write according to his own *système donné;* (d) Andronicus supported his detaching of the postpraedicamenta by reference to some catalogue which, like the *πίναξ* in Diogenes Laertius v. 21, listed the postpraedicamenta separately as an introduction to the Topics *(ὅροι πρὸ τῶν Τόπων)*; (e) Boethius condemns Andronicus for not seeing that the arguments of the Topics are self-sufficient and do not need any introduction from either postpraedicamenta or Categories; (f) Boethius' account of the opinion of Andronicus does not tally with that given in Simplicius' Greek commentary; (g) the Boethius passage may be used as evidence of the chronological order in which Aristotle composed the works of the Organon.

I believe that the text of the Boethius passage can be more convincingly presented from a wider survey of the extant manuscripts of the *In Categorias*. Here is a list of them, with an indication of the numbers under which they are described, if included, in *Aristoteles Latinus*. [5]

A	Washington: Vollbehr 9 (s. xii)	23
B	Klosterneuberg: 671 (s. xii)	43
C	Bruxelles: 5439–43 (s. xi)	(cf. 171)
D	Cheltenham: 4380 (s. xi–xii)	267
E	Oxford: Laud Lat. 49 (s. xi)	336
F	Copenhagen: Thott 168 fol. (s. x)	397
G	Avranches: 229 (s. xi–xii)	406
H	Arras: 862 (s. xi)	419
I	Orleans: 269 (s. xi–xii)	436

[5] *Aristoteles Latinus: codices descripsit G. Lacombe* (vol. i Rome 1939; vol. ii Cambridge 1955). I expect to come upon other Mss of the *In Categorias*. Unfortunately *Arist. Lat.* does not always list the Mss of such commentaries as are not accompanied by an Aristotelian text.

J	Paris: Bib. Nat. Lat. 1954 (s. xi–xii)	537
K	,, 2788 (s. xi–xii)	538
L	,, 2858 (s. xi)	539
M	,, 6398 (s. xii)	575
N	,, 6400 (s. xvi)	576
O	,, 6637 (s. xiii)	595
P	,, 11129 (s. xi)	620
Q	S. Mihiel: 26 (s. xi)	749
R	Bamberg: Class. 10 (s. xii)	790
S	Göttingen: Appar. Dipl. 10e (s. xii)	933
T	München: Clm. 6374 (s. ix)	1029
U	Clm. 6403 (s. xi)	1030
V	Clm. 14372 (s. xi)	1054
W	Clm. 14516 (s. xi)	1057
X	Clm. 18480 (s. xi)	1069
Y	Clm. 21564 (s. x–xi)	1074
Z	Nürnberg: Cent. V App. 34m (s. xii)	1094
α	Bern: 265 (s. xi–xii)	1153
β	Sankt Gallen: 817 (s. xi–xii)	1161
γ	821 (s. xi)	1164
δ	Barcelona: Ripoll 83 (s. xi)	1170
ε	Assisi: 658 (s. xiii)	1266
ζ	Firenze: Plut. lxxi, 6 (s. xv)	1315
η	S. Marc. 114 (s. xi–xii)	1384
ϑ	S. Marc. 130 (s. xii)	1387
ι	Mantua: H. 1. 3 (s. xiv)	1432
$\varkappa$	Venezia: Marc. lat. vi. 27 (s. xiv–xv)	1594
λ	ZL 272 (s. xii)	1644
μ	ZL 497 (s. xi–xii)	1650
ν	Vatican: Rossiani 537 (s. xi)	1804
ξ	Urbin. lat 188 (s. xv)	1808
o	Cambridge: Fitzwilliam 252 (s. xvi)	1906
π	Chartres: 12 (s. x)	1920
ϱ	Durham: Chap. A. II. 11 (s. xii)	1943
σ	Oxford: Magd. lat. 267 (s. xii)	1978
τ	Erfurt: 8° 66 (s. xii)	
υ	Wien: 2269 (s. xiii)	

Of these:

DQπ are apparently lost.
JKLOTXZ$\varepsilon\iota\mu o \varrho \sigma$ do not contain our passage.
AC$\zeta\vartheta\varkappa\lambda\xi$ I have as yet been unable to see.
Bδ I read from Pfligersdorffer's article.
I have collated the rest.

Here then is the text of the passage as read from BEFGHIMNPRSUVWY$\alpha\beta\gamma\delta\eta\nu\tau\upsilon$.

3 sed Andronicus
4 hanc esse adiectionem Aristotelis non putat, simul-
5 que illud arbitratur idcirco ab eo fortasse hanc ad-
6 iectionem (de oppositis et de his quae simul sunt et
7 de priore et de motu et de aequivocatione habendi)
8 esse factam qui hunc libellum Ante Topica
9 ⟨in⟩scripserit, quod haec ad illud opus necessaria
10 esse putaverit sicut ipsae Categoriae prosint ad scien-
11 tiam Topicorum, hanc quidem ignorans (scilicet suffi-
12 cienter in Topicis, quantum ad argumenta pertinebat,
13 et de his omnibus quae adiecta sunt et de praedica-
14 mentis fuisse propositum). sed haec Andronicus. Por-
15 phyrius vero . . .

---

8 esse EFGS$\alpha\nu\tau$, *ex corr.* β: non esse RU$\gamma\eta\nu$, *ex corr.* G: esse non BHIMNPVWY$\beta\delta$: non G
qui τ: quod *cett.* topicam (? *ex* TOPICAIN-) ν
9 inscripserit *conieci* (cf. Simpl. *In Cat.* 379,8): scripserit *codd.* quod) quodque GHIMNη: et quod $\nu\tau$ haec) hoc Hδ necessaria FGS$\alpha\nu\tau$, *ex corr.* β: non necessaria *cett.*, *ex corr.* G
10 prosint WYδ: prosunt BEFGHMNSUV$\alpha\beta$: ps IPR$\gamma\eta\nu\tau$: pst υ
11 hanc) hoc GHNWY$\gamma\delta\eta$, *ex corr.* IP (*s. v. add.* vel hoc . . .β): hec (?) Mν: hunc EI: *om.* FRτ
quidem *om.* FWY$\gamma\delta\nu\tau\upsilon$ (*add. in marg.* β, *add. ex corr.* G): *s. v. add.* vel hoc ignorans quod β: quod non E: non R: quoque BGPSUVβ (+ adiectionem U: *s.v.* .s.adiectionem BUVβ) scilicet quod υ
13 et de omnibus his BR$\alpha\tau$: de omnibus his BVβ adiecta) dicta N

Evidently the whole process of textual corruption began with the inability of some Latin scribe to recognise *ante Topica (Πρὸ τῶν Τόπων)* as the title of a work. Hence comes the landslide of *inscripserit* to *scripserit* and of *qui* to *quod* (line 8); and then *non* has to be inserted twice to achieve some kind of sequence; the fact that *non* (line 8) appears in the MSS sometimes before and sometimes after *esse* is an indication of its original insertion, above *esse*, as a correction.

The corresponding passage in Simplicius is [6]:

> *τινὲς μὲν γάρ, ὧν καὶ Ἀνδρόνικός ἐστιν, παρὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν τοῦ βιβλίου προσκεῖσθαί φασιν ὑπό τινος ταῦτα τοῦτο τῶν Κατηγορίων βιβλίον Πρὸ πῶν Τόπων ἐπιγράψαντος, οὐκ ἐννοοῦντες οὗτοι πόσην χρείαν οὐ τῇ τοπικῇ πραγματείᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ περὶ τῶν Κατηγορίων λόγῳ εἰσάγει τὰ εἰρημένα.*

Pfligersdorffer argues that there is no textual parallel between this and Boethius and that the Latin passage could be drawn into line with the Greek only by a very radical alteration of text: quod ⟨quis⟩ hunc libellum "Ante Topica" ⟨in⟩scripserit; in which case we should, he argues, have to find a new subject for the second *quod*-clause, in spite of the fact that its true subject can only be either Aristotle or Andronicus. But the simpler thing to do is to read *qui* for *quod* (an easy corruption) in line 8, and then the Latin exactly matches the Greek of Simplicius:

ab eo fortasse...	*ὑπό τινος...*
qui inscripserit	*ἐπιγράψαντος*

and the general doxography will also be parallel, like this:

---

[6] Simplicius, *In Categorias commentarium*, 379.6 (Kalbfleisch).

Simplicius	*Boethius*
Andronicus and others say; the postpraedicamenta are outside the scope of the work;	Andronicus says: the addition of the postpraedicamenta was not made by Aristotle;
they were added by somebody who called the Categories "*πρὸ τῶν Τόπων*".	somebody who called the Categories "Ante Topica" added the postpraedicamenta,
.....	because (idcirco . . quod) he thought them just as necessary to the Topics as the Categories themselves,
.....	failing, of course, to consider that neither is really necessary to an understanding of the Topics.
But what Andronicus and his friends themselves fail to consider is how necessary the postpraedicamenta are to the Categories: they think only of the Topics.	.....

The text I have proposed will still support Pfligersdorffer's argument (a) noted above – but none of the others.

Dublin, University College.

REVIEW

Rufinus, A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed. Translated and Annotated by J. N. D. Kelly (Ancient Christian Writers, No. 20). Westminster, Maryland, The Newman Press; London, Longmans, Green and Co 1955. VIII and 166 pp. Pr. 25/-.

The present volume is undoubtedly one of the best (if not the best) in this generally excellent series — indeed Rufinus' *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum* could have found no better translator and commentator than the author of *Early Christian Creeds*. The Introduction (pp. 3–27) gives a clear and succinct survey of the relevant topics (1. The Author; 2. The Commentary on the Apostles' Creed; 3. The Baptismal Creed; 4. Rufinus and the Bible; 5. The Canon of Scripture), the translation is faithful and eminently readable — in fact more readable than Rufinus' diffuse Latin must have been for his contemporaries —, and the notes (pp. 92–154) provide the reader with a real commentary which leaves no serious difficulty undiscussed. Occasionally a few more references to earlier Christian authors would have been welcome. For instance, in note 24 (p. 106) Tertull. *Adv. Hermog.* 3 could have been quoted besides *Adv. Prax.* 10 (cf. also Canon Evans's commentary *ad loc.*); in note 26 (p. 107) Dr. Kelly, commenting on an interesting passage in ch. 4 where Rufinus "comes near to suggesting that the mind and its processes present an analogy to the divine Trinity", only refers to the full treatment of this subject in St. Augustine's *De trinitate* but one would have liked to hear a little more about the evolution of this idea since the times of Tertullian (*Adv. Praxean, passim; Adv. Hermog.* 18). However, this desire to ask for still more in a book which gives so much should not be regarded as a criticism but as a natural consequence of the suggestiveness of Dr. Kelly's notes.

Leiden, Witte Singel 91 J. H. WASZINK

BOOKS RECEIVED

(The inclusion of a book in this list, which contains all books received by the editors, does not guarantee its subsequent review).

A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Translated and edited by W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich from the German 'Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments u. der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur' (Preuschen–Bauer, fourth edition 1949–1952). Cambridge at the University Press. The University of Chicago Press, 1957. xxxvii, 909 pp. Pr. 105/–.

The Hymns of the Hirmologium, Part III 2. Transcribed by Aglaïa Ayoutanti, revised and annotated by H. J. W. Tillyard (Monum. Mus. Byzant., Transcripta, Vol. VIII). Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1956. ix, 95 pp. Pr. Dan. cr. 20.00.

St. Cyprian, The Lapsed. The Unity of the Catholic Church. Translated and Annotated by Maurice Bévenot, S.J. (Anc. Christ. Writ., No. 25). Westminster, Maryland, The Newman Press. London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1957. 133 pp. Pr. 21/–.

Franco Bolgiani, La conversione di S. Agostino e l'VIII° libro delle "Confessioni" (Univ. di Torino, Pubbl. della Fac. di Lettere e Filosofia, Vol. VIII, fasc. 4). Torino (S. p. A. Stabilimento Tipografico Editoriale, Cuneo, Via XX Settembre 8), 1956. 187 pp., 13 plates. Pr. L. 1800.

Franco Bolgiani, Intorno al più antico Codice delle "Confessioni" di S. Agostino (Univ. di Torino, Pubbl. della Fac. di Lettere e Filosofia, Vol. VI, fasc. 2). Torino (S. p. A. Stabilimento Tipografico Editoriale, Cuneo, Via XX Settembre 8), 1954. 51 pp., 1 plate. Pr. ?

Walter J. Burghardt, S.J., The Image of God in Man (Stud. in Christ. Antiquity, Edited by Johannes Quasten, No. 14). Woodstock, Maryland, Woodstock College Press, 1957. xvi, 194 pp. Pr. $ 3.00.

Philon d'Alexandrie, La migration d'Abraham. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par René Cadiou (Sourc. Chrét. No. 47 (Série annexe)). Paris, Éd. du Cerf, 1957. 91 pp. (pp. 24/89 double pp.). Pr. ?

Léon le Grand, Sermons, Tome II. Traduction et notes de Dom René Dolle (Sourc. Chrét. No. 49). Paris, Éd. du Cerf, 1957. 93 pp. (pp. 10/89 double pp.). Pr. fr. 630.

Homélies Pascales III. Une homélie anatolienne sur la date de Pâques en l'an 387. Étude, édition et traduction par P. Floëri et P. Nautin (Sourc. Chrét. No. 48). Paris, Éd. du Cerf, 1957. 186 pp. Pr. ?

Biblical Research. Papers of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research. I. 1956. The Virgin Birth. *Historical Fact or Kerygmatic Truth?* by Reginald H. Fuller. The Qumran Scrolls and Early Judaism by Ralph Marcus. Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1957. viii, 47 pp. Pr. Dutch fl. 4.75.

Wilhelm Hartke, Über Jahrespunkte und Feste, insbesondere das Weihnachtsfest (Deutsche Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin. Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswiss., 6). Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1956. 106 pp. Pr. DM 15.00.

Theodor Klauser, Die römische Petrustradition im Lichte der neuen Ausgrabungen unter der Peterskirche (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Heft 24). Köln und Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag, (1956). 122 pp., 19 plates. Pr. ?

Tönnes Kleberg, Hôtels, restaurants et cabarets dans l'antiquité romaine. Études historiques et philologiques (Bibl. Ekmaniana Univ. Regiae Upsal., 61). Uppsala, Almquist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, (1957). xi, 163 pp. (pp. 151/163 plates). Pr. Swed. cr. 20.00.

Heikki Koskenniemi, Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr. (Ann. Acad. Scient. Fenn., Sarja-Ser. B Nide-Tom. 102, 2). Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1956. 214 pp. Pr. Finn. marks 800.00.

Evangelium Veritatis. Codex Jung f. VIII^{v}–XVI^{v} (p. 16–32)/f. XIX^{r}–XXII^{r} (p. 37–43) ediderunt Michel Malinine Henri-Charles Puech Gilles Quispel. Zürich, Rascher Verlag, 1956. xvi pp.; facsimile of pp. 16–32 and 37–43; 127 pp. Pr. Sw. fr. 90.00.

The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon. An Introduction and Commentary by C. F. D. Moule (The Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary). Cambridge at the University Press, 1957. xiii, 170 pp. Pr. 21/–.

Johannes Munck, Christus und Israel. Eine Auslegung von Röm. 9–11 (Acta Jutlandica, Publ. of the Univ. of Aarhus XXVIII, 3. Theol. Series 7). Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus — Ejnar Munksgaard København, 1956. 115 pp. Pr. Dan. cr. 11.00.

Iuli Firmici Materni, De errore profanarum religionum a cura di Agostino Pastorino (Bibl. di Studi Superiori, vol. XXVII). Firenze, La Nuova Italia Editrice, (1956). lxxvi, 295 pp. Pr. L. 3000.

Q. S. F. Tertulliani, Ad Scapulam. Prolegomeni, Testo Critico e Commento di Antonio Quacquarelli (Opuscula Patrum, I). Roma–Parigi–Tournai–New-York, Desclee & C^{i}. 131 pp. Pr. ?

Tertullien, Traité de la prescription contre les hérétiques. Introduction, texte critique et notes de R. F. Refoule, o.p. Traduction de P. de Labriolle (Sourc. Chrét. No. 46). Paris, Éd. du Cerf, 1957. 167 pp. (pp. 88/153 double pp.). Pr. fr. 870.

Stuia Patristica. Papers presented to the Second International Conference on Patristic Studies held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1955. Edited by Kurt Aland and F. L. Cross. Parts I/II. (Texte u. Unters. z. Gesch. d. altchristl. Lit., Bd 63/64 = V. Reihe, Bd. 8/9). Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1957. xi, 700 pp.; ix, 560 pp. Pr. DM 96.00.

Ambroise de Milan, Traité sur l'Évangile de S. Luc. I. Livres I–VI. Texte latin. Introduction, traduction et notes de Dom Gabriel Tissot, O.S.B. (Sourc. Chrét. No. 45). Paris, Éd. du Cerf, 1956. 275 pp. (pp. 40/270 double pp.). Pr. fr. 1650.

The Akathistos Hymn. Introduced and Transcribed by Egon Wellesz (Monum. Mus. Byzant., Transcripta, Vol. IX). Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1957. xcii, 108 pp. Pr. Dan. cr. 34.00.

THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS AND THE NEW TESTAMENT *

BY

G. QUISPEL

In this paper it is my intention to discuss the possibility that unknown sayings of Jesus, taken from a Jewish-Christian Gospel originally written in Aramaic, have come to light.

The Gospel of Thomas, one of the writings found at Nag Hamadi in 1946(?), contains about 114 Logia, that is words attributed to Jesus, short dialogues with disciples or other people, and parables.

About half of these Logia are of the syncretist type, perhaps all to be derived from the apocryphal Gospel of the Egyptians, and need not detain us here any longer.

The other sayings, however, are of the synoptic type, though none of them agrees completely with the wording of our canonical Gospels.

There is no doubt that one of these Logia of the second type, number 2 in the edition, which some of my colleagues and I have been preparing, is simply a quotation from the lost Gospel according to the Hebrews, which was known to the Egyptians of the second century, as is shown by fragments transmitted by the Alexandrine authors Clement and Origen.

Another Saying (12) comes very near to the views of this apocryphal Gospel: it tells us that after the death of Jesus, his brother James is to be the leader of the disciples and declares that James is the "Righteous One", for whose sake heaven and earth have been created. This last expression, of course, is as Jewish as it could be; the view that James was the primate of Christianity has its close parallel in the Gospel of the Hebrews, according to which James was the first to whom the Lord appeared after his resurrec-

* Lecture held at Oxford on September 18th 1957. The complete references and a full bibliography are to be found in the edition of the Gospel of Thomas, which will be published in the course of 1958. The English of this paper has been revised by Mr. J. V. M. Sturdy, Cambridge.

tion[1]. So it is almost certain that this saying about James comes from the same source.

On the other hand, it is obvious that more than one Logion in the Gospel of Thomas is identical or almost identical with Gospelquotations in the Pseudo-Clementine writings, which I for one consider valuable sources for our knowledge of Jewish Christianity in Palestine.

These Logia tell us that the *Pharisees* and the *Scribes* have *received* the keys of Knowledge, they have *hidden* them; they did not enter themselves and those that *wished to enter*, they *suffered not* (39); again, Christ did not come to cast peace *upon the world*, but to cast divisions *upon the earth*, *fire*, a sword, *war* (16).

Other examples: a city *built* upon the top of a high mountain, (well) established, can neither fall nor be hidden (32); the poor are blessed because theirs is the Kingdom of *Heaven* (54); and the merchant, who sold his merchandise and bought himself the one pearl, is called *clever* (76).

The wording of these texts, so different, in spite of the similarities, from that of canonical Scripture, has its parallel in the Pseudo-Clementine writings[2]. So these Logia are undoubtedly of Jewish-Christian origin and almost certainly taken from a Jewish-Christian Gospel, to which also the quotations in the Pseudo-Clementines ultimately go back. I suggest that this source was the Gospel of the Hebrews, which now turns out to have been a Jewish-Christian writing of Palestinian origin.

As far as I know nobody has ever defended the thesis that the Gospelquotations in the Pseudo-Clementine writings were borrowed from a collection of Logia and not from some apocryphal Gospel. It is true that some scholars maintain the independence of the Gospel of the Ebionites and the Nazarene Gospel from the Gospel of the Hebrews, though admitting that all of them were of the Jewish-Christian type. The first two of these, however, have their parallel in the Gospel of Thomas:

> *They said to Him: Come and let us* pray today and let us fast. *Jesus said: What then is the sin that I have done* or in what have I been vanquished? (104)

[1] E. Klostermann, *Apocrypha* II, p. 10, fr. 21.

[2] *Hom.* XVIII, 16; *Rec.* II, 28; *Hom.* III, 27; *Rec.* II, 28; *Rec.* III, 62.

> . . . *dicebant ei . . . : eamus* et baptizemur . . . *dixit autem eis:* quid peccavi
>
> Naz. Gospel, fr. 3[3].

And again:

> The Disciples said to Him: Thy brethren and Thy mother are standing outside. He said unto them: Those here, that do the will of my Father, they are my brethren and my mother.
>
> (99)
>
> *Οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί μου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἀδελφαὶ οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ θελήματα τοῦ πατρός μου.*
>
> Eb. Gospel, fr. 4[4].

From this one may conclude, perhaps, that the Nazarene Gospel and the Ebionite Gospel were just recensions of an underlying Gospel of the Hebrews.

In any case a considerable number of the new Logia show very close affinities with Gospelquotations in Jewish-Christian writings and it is reasonable to suppose that they have all been taken from one source.

This increases considerably the importance of all the Sayings of the synoptic type contained in the Gospel of Thomas, because each of them might come from the same source; but this is nothing else than the Gospel used by the descendants of the primitive community of Jerusalem, who seem to have lived on in Palestine almost completely isolated from the main stream of Gentile Christian tradition.

In view of this we might expect that these newly discovered Logia would be so completely forgotten in the course of Christian history that they leave no trace in documents of Gentile Christianity. But surprisingly we find that these apparently forgotten sayings have influenced the biblical idiom of many nations during the Middle Ages and even up to the present time. For it proves that this uncanonical Gospeltradition has found its way into the different Diatessara, or "Lives of Jesus", preserved in Latin, English, Dutch, Italian, Arabic, Armenian and Persian, which may all be traced back to the Diatessaron written by the Syrian Tatian about 170 A.D.

[3] Klostermann, *o.c.*, p. 6.

[4] Klostermann, *o.c.*, p. 14.

The Tuscan Diatessaron contains the following remarkable variant:

> He that shall speak a word *against the Father*, it shall be forgiven him. Vaccari, p. 244, 14

This cannot be paralleled from the manuscript tradition of the New Testament: but Logion 44 of the Gospel of Thomas says:

> He that shall blaspheme *against the Father*, it shall be forgiven him.

It seems reasonable to suppose that by some channel or another the wording of this Logion has influenced the Italian text.

The same may be said of a reading of the Persian Diatessaron which runs as follows:

> Love and honour thy friend as thy soul,
>
> Messina, p. 225, 6

compared with:

> Love thy brother as thy soul. Logion 25.

Very often readings which seemed due to misunderstandings or free paraphrases by the translators of the Diatessara, now prove to have very old roots and to transmit valuable tradition. So, for instance, nobody would have thought it worth while to mention the Venetian Diatessaron for its version:

> And the day will come that the bridegroom will not be with them, but *will go away*, Vaccari, p. 55, 5,

were it not that Logion 104 comes very near it:

> But when the bridegroom *shall go* out of the bridal chamber.

Is this variant of a word of Jesus not less theological, and perhaps even more primitive, than the tradition of our three synoptic Gospels, which make a clear allusion to the Ascension (ἀπαρθῇ, cf. Acts I, 9: ἐπήρθη)? There is, as far as I see, nothing to show that this is not good tradition.

A quick and superficial glance at the various Diatessara has enabled me to discover up to now more than forty variants in which the Gospel of Thomas and the Diatessara agree against our

Gospeltradition and I feel sure that still more will be detected. How is this to be explained?

It is an acknowledged fact that the Diatessaron as written by Tatian contained apocryphal material. We may even say in the light of the present evidence that the contribution of apocryphal elements to the original Diatessaron was much greater than could be reasonably supposed before. The question is where these variant readings come from.

Since the days of Hugo Grotius eminent scholars have expressed their considered opinion, based on various data, that Tatian, when writing his "Earliest Life of Christ" used not only our four canonical Gospels, but also a fifth source, an apocryphal Gospel, which they identified with the Gospel of the Hebrews. They pointed out that the Diatessaron mentioned an Illumination at the baptism of Christ, as did the Gospel of the Hebrews, and added other arguments, which were more or less convincing. And why, they asked, would Victor of Capua have called the work of Tatian a Diapente, if it had not been composed from five different Gospels[5]? Baumstark even went so far as to suppose that the Gospel of the Hebrews was the basic writing of the Diatessaron and that Tatian inserted the texts taken from the four canonical gospels into the frame of this Jewish-Christian writing[6].

Perhaps we need not go as far as that. Perhaps we need not even say that the Gospel according to the Hebrews was the only apocryphal source of the Diatessaron.

But the conjecture of practically all the specialists who worked on the Diatessaron has become more probable now that the new Sayings are available. For readings which, as we can prove now, certainly or probably are of Jewish-Christian origin are found to have been part of the original Diatessaron. And yet it is extremely improbable that Tatian used the Gospel of Thomas, not only because there is no positive evidence that he did know it, but also because, if he had known it, this heretical writing must have been suspect even to him.

---

[5] C. Peters, *Nachhall ausserkanonischer Evangelienüberlieferung in Tatian's Diatessaron*, *Acta Orientalia* XVI, 258 sqq.

[6] A. Baumstark, *Biblica* XVI, 1935, pp. 294 and 299.

So I suggest as a working hypothesis that both Tatian and the author of the Gospel of Thomas borrowed from a common Jewish-Christian source, which for reasons of convenience may be called by its traditional name: "the Gospel according to the Hebrews".

And we must consider the possibility that those Logia which have something in common with the various recensions of the Diatessaron, have been borrowed from this apocryphal Gospel.

This however has farreaching consequences for a revaluation of the Diatessaron. Its different versions may sometimes be used cautiously for reconstructing the original text of the Gospel of the Hebrews and perhaps even help us to approach a stage of its text not evident from the tendentious excerpts contained in the Gospel of Thomas.

Logion 47 tells us, that

> they do not put old wine in a new wineskin, lest this spoil it. They do not sew an old patch on a new garment, because a rent will come.

This sounds unfamiliar to our ears, because we are so used to our Gospel-tradition that we only speak about "new wine in old wineskins" and "a new patch on an old garment". But the reading of our Logion is confirmed by the Persian Diatessaron:

> and not the old on the new (garment)
>
> Messina p. 55, 1.

And this reading makes sense. For winegrowers assure us that in fact old wine is spoiled when put into new wineskins, and ladies know that an old patch does not go with a new garment.

We may then conjecturally restore a fine piece of Semitic poetry, with the parallelism that is so characteristic of it, just by filling the gaps left in the Logion of "Thomas" with some fragments from our Gospels:

> No man drinks old wine and straightway desireth to drink new wine
> and they do not put new wine in old wineskins, lest they rent
> and they do not put old wine in a new wineskin, lest this spoil it;

they do not sew an old patch on a new garment, (because that agreeth not with the (new))
(and they do not sew a new patch on an old garment), because a rent shall come.

Is this not exactly the sort of Semitic parallelism we might expect from the Gospel of the Hebrews?

Even where the text of the Diatessara has been almost completely "vulgatised", that is, brought into conformity with the prevalent type of text, the Vulgate in the West and the Peshitta in the East, specialists discovered long ago some faint traces of what Tatian did write and where he did get his text from. They were certainly on the right track, though the material then available was not yet sufficient to prove their point convincingly.

And I feel obliged to pay a tribute of gratitude and respect to the memory of the late prof. Plooy, who met with such unjustified scepticism, when he demonstrated that the Liège Diatessaron was based on an Old Latin translation of Tatian's work. Much of his work was confirmed by the later discovered Persian Diatessaron. Moreover, Plooy suggested in 1925 that Tatian knew and used the Gospel of the Hebrews, which, according to him, was written in an Aramaic dialect very near to the vernacular speech of our Lord, and will have contained many words of Jesus almost exactly as they were heard by the disciples. "It is very likely", wrote Plooy, "that Tatian took from this Gospel many of those Syriac wordings in which he seems to have preserved the actual speech of our Lord"[7]. Plooy admitted that the evidence for the text of the Gospel of the Hebrews was scanty, and so it was at the time. But he saw the Jewish-Christian origin of the not very conspicuous variant at Matthew 18,7 transmitted by the Liège Diatessaron. Here the Dutch text reads:

Nochtan so moten de schandalen *komen*.
A Liège Diatessaron, p. 290, l. 17

Plooy rightly saw that an original reading of Tatian's work had been preserved here, and referred to the Old Latin tradition *(venire* l.

---

[7] D. Plooy, *A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron*, Leyden 1925, p. 85.

ut veniant), to the reading of the Syrus Sinaiticus *(about to come)* and to an Agraphon preserved by Aphraates (I, 183) and by the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies.

The Persian Diatessaron later revealed that Tatian as a matter of fact must have been influenced by the wording of this Agraphon:

> *Bad things* will *come*, but woe to him by whose hand they will come. Messina, p. 305, 23.

And also a Manichaean Psalm transmitted as a Saying of Jesus:

> The good is destined to *come:* blessed is he by whose hand it comes;
> *the evil* too is near *to be:* woe unto him, because of whom it comes. Allberry, p. 39, l. 27–28.

Now this clearly shows that Tatian really has been influenced by a Jewish-Christian source, namely the Gospel from which the quotations in the Pseudo-Clementine writings are to be ultimately derived.

For in the Pseudo Clementine Homilies (XII, 29) we find the following words attributed to Jesus:

> *Τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐλθεῖν δεῖ, μακάριος δὲ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται, ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἀνάγκη ἐλθεῖν, οὐαὶ δε δι' οὗ ἔρχεται.*

So we may conclude that this wellknown Agraphon is not an Agraphon at all, but a quotation taken from an apocryphal Gospel, which owing to its Semitic colour and typical parallelism deserves serious consideration. The same may be the case with other Agrapha, as far as they are real Agrapha and not transformations of canonical Sayings or pure inventions of the pious mind. This would apply especially to the Agrapha contained in the Pseudo-Clementine documents and in the writings of Justin Martyr, whose Gospel-quotations are generally agreed to have close affinities very often to those of the Pseudo-Clementines. Could it not be that many of the Agrapha are not Agrapha at all, but citations from apocryphal writings that can now be identified? And do they not deserve a special attention, when we can reasonably conjecture that they are to be derived from the Gospel according to the Hebrews?

I am not speaking now about the importance of the Diatessaron for New Testament studies and therefore I am not going to consider to what extent this Gospel Harmony may be useful for restoring the

ipsissima verba of Our Lord. But I am sure that it can shed a new light upon our Gospel, if we keep in mind that its variant readings may come from an unknown and forgotten Gospel. In Matthew V, 33 the Persian as well as the Armenian Diatessaron (and the Syriac Acts of Philip)[8] add the words: "a blow for a blow". This cannot have been a redactional addition of Tatian, because we find already in Polycarp: *ῥόνθος ἀντὶ ῥόνθου* (II, 2): moreover this reading is in accordance with Exodus 21, 23 to which Matthew V, 38 refers. If we suppose that Tatian took this reading from his Jewish-Christian source, we might restore something like the following text:

> Ye have heard that it hath been said: An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth (and a blow for a blow). But I say unto you that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.

This is surely a good and independent tradition.

So we may conclude this part of our survey by saying that as often as not these Sayings from the Gospel of Thomas have some relation to the text of the various Diatessara and that an effort which combines the data of "Thomas" and Tatian might discover in some cases a Gospeltradition rather different from and perhaps independent of that contained in our canonical Gospels.

We may now direct our attention to a different, though closely related part of New Testament Criticism, the problem of the so-called "Western Text", in so far as the new text sheds some light upon this much debated question[9]. We may perhaps doubt whether such a thing as the "Western Text" ever existed in a single archetype, but it is certain that the Greek Codex Bezae (D), the Old Latin manuscripts and the Syriac Codices Curetonianus and Sinaiticus contain a number of variants, interpolations and non-interpolations, which sometimes have much in common and differ from the almost completely Alexandrine text which we find in our modern editions. I may add as a personal note that since the days of my thesis I have

---

[8] F. C. Burkitt, *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe*, Cambridge 1904, II, p. 106.

[9] A. F. J. Klijn, *A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts*, Utrecht 1949. I avail of the opportunity to thank dr Klijn for his great help in preparing this paper.

been vexed by the riddle of how it is that the "Western Text" used by Marcion about 150 A.D. was so different from what we consider as Holy Writ. And even Justin Martyr too, besides using a special source very similar to, if not identical with the Gospel that the Pseudo-Clementine author used, must before him have had our four Gospels in a "Western" recension. With this qualification it must be pointed out that the new Sayings have a strong affinity to the variants of the "Western Text".

The reading of the Old Latin, "African" Codex Palatinus (e) in Luke 6, 45 is quite exceptional:

> Malus homo de malo thesauro cordis sui malum proferet. De abundantia cordis loquitur malum [10].

In this case fortunately we know the text of the Diatessaron as transmitted by Aphraates:

> A good man bringeth forth good things from the good treasures, that are in his hearts and speaketh good, and a bad man bringeth forth evil things from the evil treasures that are in his heart and speaketh evil, *for from the abundance of the heart speak the lips.* Hom. XIV, 29

Because of the variation in the last line we can be certain that the curious variant of the Old Latin Codex cannot be due to the influence of the Diatessaron. But in Logion 45 of our collection it is said that:

> A good man bringeth forth a good (thing) out of his treasure, (. . . . .), a bad man bringeth forth evil things out of his treasure, which is in his heart, and speaketh evil things. *For out of the abundance of the heart he bringeth forth evil things.*

This agreement between the text of Carthage and of Pella is really astonishing, the more so because they seem to preserve a corruption of a saying well transmitted by all other manuscripts.

The variant of the Latin manuscript becomes understandable if we suppose that the right version has been corrupted very early indeed under the influence of the wording of the above mentioned Saying, which seems to have been contained in the Gospel according

---

[10] Jülicher–Matzkow, *Itala*, III *Lucas Evangelium*, Berlin 1954, p. 69.

to the Hebrews. This is one of the many examples that can be given to show the contacts between the Sayings and the Old Latin manuscripts.

Before I go on to discuss the relations between the Codex Bezae and certain Logia of the Gospel of Thomas, I must say a few words about parallelism as a cause of variants in the Gospeltradition. Behind this tradition stands a Person who expressed himself in poetry. Therefore His Sayings still have, or originally very often had, the forms of Semitic poetic tradition.

The Evangelists, however, who were writing for Greek ears not accustomed to the refinements of parallelism, sometimes abbreviated the sayings transmitted to them, which in their original form may have been considerably longer[11]. We saw before, that in a different Gospeltradition, good things were said to come as well as bad and the old wine is not put in new wineskins as new wine is not put in old ones. And it might be that this tradition has in some cases better preserved the poetical structure of the Sayings, which made them so easy to remember in Aramaic.

It would seem that sometimes this stylistic idiom of the Aramaic original has caused an apparent contradiction within the Greek tradition of the sayings, which is not due to misunderstanding or scribal error, nor yet to tendentious correction, but simply to the fact that one translator rendered only one half of two parallel *kola*, whereas another translated the other half.

Some authors[12] transmit what seems to be a curious corruption of Matthew 6, 21: "Where the spirit *(νοῦς)* (of somebody is), there the treasure is". Spirit of course renders here, as often, the Aramaic equivalent of "heart". But could it not be that both the canonical Gospels and the apocryphal tradition are right and that a more primitive form, with its original parallelism restored, would have been something like this:

> Where the heart (is), there (is) the treasure,
> where the treasure (is), there will (your) heart (be also).

This digression was necessary to appreciate fully a curious

---

[11] G. Messina, *Diatessaron Persiano*, Roma 1951, p. LII – p. LIX.

[12] For the following compare V.C. XI, 3, p. 139.

reading of the Codex Bezae, and some Old Latin and other manuscripts in Luke 11, 40:

> Did not he who made the inside, make the outside also?

The Pharisees in certain circumstances considered a cup as ritually pure, if the outside only had been cleaned, so that the Codex Bezae seems to miss the gist of the argument. But its reading is supported by Logion 89 of the Gospel of Thomas:

> Why do ye wash the outside of the cup? Do ye not understand that he who made the inside, he also it is who made the outside.

Here again we may ask whether our Gospels have preserved one half of the Saying, whereas the Gospel of Thomas and the Codex Bezae with its allies possibly transmit the other half. It makes sense to suppose that a more primitive form ran somewhat like this:

> He who made the inside, also made the outside;
> he who made the outside, also made the inside.

It would seem that this is the text which lies behind Logion 20 of our collection, almost certainly taken from the Gospel of the Egyptians[13]:

> When you make the two one
> and you make that which is within as that which is without
> and that which is without as that which is within . . .

I cannot stop to give here my reasons for holding that this text is a doublet of a passage from the Gospel of the Hebrews, partly transmitted by Logion 89 and that it is a recension made by the author of the Gospel of the Egyptians, who here, as so often. transposed the Semitic notions of his Jewish-Christian source into the "existentials" of gnosticizing Alexandrinism. I only want to suggest that the variant of Codex Bezae is related to the reading of the newly discovered Logion and does make sense.

The parallels in our Logia with the readings of the Old Syriac manuscripts are so numerous that it will be sufficient to quote just one saying (79) in full and underline the common variants:

> A woman said to him from the multitude: Blessed is the womb which bare thee and the breasts *which nourished thee*. He said

[13] Klostermann, *o.c.*, p. 16.

> *to her:* Blessed ⟨*V*⟩ are those who *heard* the word of the Father and *kept* it. For ⟨*V*⟩ there *shall be* days that *ye will say:* Blessed is the womb which did not conceive and the breasts *which suckled not.*
>
> (comp. Burkitt, E.D.M., p. 323 (Luke 11, 27) and p. 409 (Luke 23, 29))

These few examples, selected from more than forty, should be sufficient to show that the sayings of the synoptic type in the Gospel of Thomas have a marked affinity with the various branches of the "Western Text". And again these facts demand a reasonable explanation. In this case the Diatessaron may prove too late to be relevant, because some readings which these Logia and the "Western Text" have in common are already found in the Gospelquotations of Justin Martyr and Marcion, who lived before Tatian wrote his Diatessaron. Let me quote two important examples:

> Behold, there went out a sower, he took a handful, he threw (them). Some fell *upon* the road, the birds came, they gathered them. Others fell upon the rock and did not strike root in the earth and did not send up ears. And others fell upon the thorns, they choked the seed and the worm ate them. And others fell upon the good earth and it brought forth good fruit, it bore sixty each measure and a hundred and twenty each measure. (9)

This version looks primitive: Wellhausen long ago pointed out that one would expect "*on* the road", not "*beside* the road", which we find in our canonical Gospels[14]. And indeed, if we visualize the Parable and picture the sower, throwing his seeds carelessly even on the path which his neighbours have trodden out on the field, because he knows that the plough will do its work afterwards, we must admit that Wellhausen was right. The misunderstanding in our Gospels has been explained by the fact that the underlying Aramaic, 'al 'urḥa, is ambiguous and may mean either "on the road" or "beside the road"[15]. Justin however, reads: *εἰς τὴν ὁδόν,* (Dial. c. Tryph. 125) and so has the same text as our Logion.

[14] Wellhausen, *Evangelium Marci,* in loc.

[15] M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts,* Oxford 1946, p. 120.

This seems to show that this reading is an independent translation from *the Aramaic*, made before 150 A.D.

A second example:

> The Pharisees and the Scribes have received the keys of Knowledge, they have hidden them. (39)

Justin has preserved here a wording which is virtually the same: you hold the keys, (Dial. 17, 4: τὰς κλεῖς ἔχετε) and *Syrus Sinaiticus*, in Matthew 23, 13 has: you *hold* the key. Marcion however, also read: ἔχετε (Tert., *adv. Marc.* IV, 27: quam vero clavem *habebant* legis doctores).

In this tradition then the Jewish leaders are said to have received the keys, whereas Luke 11, 52 maintains that they have taken them away, which is something quite different. Now this also can be explained as a variant translation of the same Aramaic word, šeḳal, meaning both "to receive, to hold" and "to take away".[16]. Here too the reading of our Logion as well as that of Justin and Marcion reflects an independent translation from the Aramaic.

But that is only one half of the story. The reading "they received", for "they have taken away", was current among Jewish-Christian circles. In the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* II, 30, (confirmed by its Syriac translation, I, 54) it is said that the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* had *hidden* the key of knowledge which they had *received* from Moses[17]. This is almost literally the same wording as that of Logion 39, and it shows, that the version "they received" is tendentious. For the Jewish Christians, who had a greater respect

---

[16] O. Klein, *Syr.–Gr. Wörterbuch zu den vier kanonischen Evangelien*, Giessen 1916, p. 102.

[17] It is only fair to state, that J. H. A. Michelsen long ago observed the Oxyrrhynchus "Sayings of Jesus" to be fragments of the Gospel of Thomas and that he was the only one to find out how Pap. Ox. 655, IIb (= Logion 39 of the Gospel of Thomas) should be restored. He even proposed to read ἔλ[αβον), with a reference to Ps.–Clem. *Hom.* XVIII, 15. This now proves to be the right correction. [J. H. A. Michelsen, *Nieuwontdekte fragmenten* etc., Teyler's Theologisch Tijdschrift III, 2, p. 153 sqq. and id., *Uittreksels uit het Evangelie volgens Thomas*, ibid., VII, 2, p. 214 sqq.; both articles are contained in the *Pamphlets-Logia*, (No. 305, 2 L. 80 fol. in the Ashmolean Museum Library), to which prof. C. H. Roberts, St. John's College, Oxford, drew my attention].

for the Pharisees than did their Master, used this variant to support their heretical conception that the Pharisees were the legitimate and right interpreters of the Law, who had received the oral tradition from Moses.

We see not only that this Saying has been translated independently from the Aramaic, but also that it definitely bears the stamp of Jewish-Christian doctrine.

These, and similar arguments, must lead us to the conclusion that in every case where our Logia agree with the "Western Text", we must consider the possibility that this agreement is due to a common source, the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

I am glad to be able to say that Matthew Black, though starting from a quite different point of departure, has come to very similar conclusions. In his book "An Aramaic Approach to the New Testament", he shows that variants of the "Western Text" are sometimes nearer to Aramaic as spoken by Our Lord than the Alexandrine text of our Gospels. That, however, does not mean, according to him, that Mark, Matthew and Luke wrote a "Western" text. Black prefers to suppose that

> "in the earliest period of textual transmission the writings of the Evangelists have been variously influenced by or assimilated to other wellkown extracanonical Greek versions of the Words of the Lord" (p. 214) and that "there is no doubt that the earliest Syriac Gospel translations drew on the apocryphal Gospels, so that the possible influence of a non-Greek tradition of the Sayings of Jesus or the events of the Gospels cannot be ruled out of consideration in our explanation of the curious variants which have survived in the Syriac Gospels and Gospel-tradition" (p. 204).

It would seem that the new material and the conclusions which it imposes confirm his view and that the various representatives of the "Western Text" have been influenced from a very early date by a Jewish-Christian Gospel written in Aramaic and then translated into Greek.

This encourages us to ask whether the unknown Sayings in our collection may come from the same source and contain not just old but good tradition:

1) Jesus said: Blessed is the man, who suffered; he found Life. (58)

The style of this impressive Saying is that of the Proverbs, like so many other Sayings in the Synoptics:

> Blessed is the man that heareth me . . . For whoso findeth me findeth Life. (Prov. 8, 34–35).

Its content can be paralleled from the Talmud:

> Blessed art thou, Rabbi Aqiba! For thou art destined for the Life of the World to come. Berakh. 61b

This makes it exceedingly probable, that the Saying is, to say the least, of Palestinian origin.

Apparently the author of the Letter of James quotes this as a text already known:

> Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of Life (James I, 12);

Peter alluded to the same Saying of his Master, when he wrote:

> If ye suffer for righteousness sake, happy are ye. (1 Peter 3, 14)

2) Jesus said: Woe to them, the Pharisees, for they are like unto a dog sleeping upon the manger of oxen, for he neither eats himself nor allows the oxen to eat. (102)

These words have the sensuousness of good tradition. Its content has close parallels in the proverbial wisdom of the people: the dog in the manger, el perro del hortelano are very common expressions in English and Spanish.

It has been shown by adherents of the Formgeschichte that many sayings in our Gospels too have close affinities with the proverbs of all sorts of peoples[18]. It may be said that this is sometimes a characteristic of good tradition.

3) Jesus said: The Kingdom of the Father is like unto a woman who was carrying a jug filled with meal and was walking on a far road.
The handle of the jug broke, the meal streamed out behind her on the road. She did not know it, she had not noticed the

[18] R. Bultmann, *Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition.*

> accident. When she arrived at her house, she put the jug down, she found it empty. (97)

This parable is hard to understand, but seems to convey the otherwise wellknown warning that at the eschatological moment some may turn out to have empty vessels owing to their own negligence. Perhaps it contains a warning against Christian self-assurance and lack of watchfulness so sharp and critical that the early Christians thought better to forget it.

I do not see why these and similar unknown Sayings of Jesus that are contained in the Gospel of Thomas and by their wording, their style and their content betray their Palestinian origin, should not have the same historical value as the words of Jesus contained in our four canonical Gospels. They may have been transmitted in a Palestinian milieu quite isolated from the rest of Christendom and not influenced by the trends of Pauline theology. And we must not exclude the possibility that these people may have preserved sometimes the words of Jesus in a form more primitive than that found in the canonical Gospels.

This may be illustrated by the "Parable of the King's Son",: Logion 65:

> He said: A good man had a vineyard. He gave it to husbandmen that they should work it and that he might take its fruit from them. He sent his servant that the husbandmen should give him the fruit of the vineyard. They took hold of his servant, they beat him, there was but little(?) and they killed him. The servant came, he told it to his master. His master said: Perhaps they did not know him. He sent another servant: the husbandmen beat the other too. Then the owner sent his son. He said: "Perhaps they will reverence my son". When those husbandmen knew that he was the heir of the vineyard, they seized him, they killed him.

This version of the Parable is much shorter than the one contained in Luke 20, 9–19. The owner of the vineyard does not go into a foreign country, a messenger is only sent three times (this in accordance with a widespread trend of popular narrative, comp.: Luke 10, 30–37: a priest . . . a Levite . . . a Samaritan); no servant is killed; the Son is not cast out of the vineyard; the lord of the

vineyard does not destroy the husbandmen nor does he give the vineyard to others. As might be expected in a Jewish-Christian Gospel, neither the Fall of Jerusalem nor the rejection of Israel and the calling of the Gentiles are mentioned. It is hardly conceivable that this version of the Parable is due to an author who knew the synoptic Gospels: it is much less improbable that we have to do here with an independent tradition and it is a reasonable hypothesis that it has to be derived from the Jewish-Christian source we have already tried to identify.

But even in this version Jesus designates Himself as the Son and announces his death. So a Jewish-Christian source, which certainly was not biassed by all the prejudices of Hellenistic "mythology" that the "Formgeschichtler" imagine they discover in the Gospeltradition of Gentile Christianity, transmits essentially the same message as our Bible.

How than can this Parable be a product of "Gemeindetheologie", as has so often been presumed? Is it conceivable that both the community of Pella and the congregation of Rome invented the same story?

And if we leave aside details for a moment and discuss the real issue in its immense perspectives, this could be the importance of the new discovery, that we may have now an independent Gospeltradition, which if not verbally, at least in the broad outlines both of style and of theology agrees to a large extent with the text of our canonical Gospels. And this might prove that these diverging streams of tradition cannot originate in an anonymus collective consciousness as some historians of Synoptic Tradition would have it.

It is true the wording of these Sayings sometimes deviates considerably from the text of the Synoptic Gospels; not one of them as I said, is exactly identical with the corresponding words in the Alexandrine text that we have received as our New Testament.

This does not necessarily imply that the new Sayings always represent a better tradition. The author of the Gospel of Thomas has modified the text which he found in his source, as can be proved in various cases; moreover the text we have now has undergone a revision by a gnosticizing redactor, as is proved by the Logia from Oxyrrhynchus [19]; and we cannot tell how much may have

[19] Evelyn White, *The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus*, Cambridge 1920.

been lost in the translation from Greek into Coptic. We must have very strong arguments before we decide that in some cases the text of the new documents is to be preferred.

And when we keep in mind that a great number of these Sayings are if not identical, very similar to the wording of our Synoptics, and yet come from a different and independent Aramaic tradition, we see clearly that the almost nihilistic scepticism of certain "Histories of the Synoptic Tradition" about the authenticity of the words attributed to Jesus in our Scripture has not such solid foundations as it claims to have. In this sense the Gospel of Thomas confirms the trustworthiness of the Bible[20].

Bilthoven, Noord-Houdringelaan 32.

[20] The translation of the sayings which have been mentioned in this article is provisional, but owes not a little to the common work of prof. dr H.-Ch. Puech, Y. Abd al Masih, prof. W. Till, prof. A. Guillaumont and my self, who are preparing the edition of the Gospel of Thomas. Needless to say that the author of this paper owes much to the discussion with his colleagues, especially to those with prof. Puech, but he alone is responsible for the views expressed above.

Additional note to Logion 65 on page 205: According to dr J. Zandee (Utrecht) we should translate:

still a little while and they would have killed him.

Allusion to Moses? (Exodus 17,4 LXX: *'Ετι μικρὸν καὶ λιθοβολήσουσίνμε*).

EIN FRAGMENT DER APOSTOLISCHEN KONSTITUTIONEN IN EREWAN

VON

KURT TREU

In der Staatlichen Handschriftensammlung Armeniens (Matenadaran) in Erewan befinden sich neben den überaus reichen Beständen an armenischen Handschriften auch eine Reihe von Handschriften und Bruchstücken in griechischer Sprache [1]. Im Mai 1957 besuchte eine Studiengruppe der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin unter Leitung von Prof. D. Kurt Aland die Bibliothek, um griechische neutestamentliche Handschriften zu untersuchen und zu fotografieren und zugleich einen Überblick über den Gesamtbestand an griechischen Texten zu gewinnen. Es fanden sich (neben zwei spätbyzantinischen Handschriften) Fragmente griechischer Pergamenthandschriften als Schutzblätter in den Einbänden von 42 armenischen Bänden. Gelegentlich enthält ein armenischer Kodex Blätter aus verschiedenen griechischen Handschriften, häufiger ist der umgekehrte Fall, daß Teile ein und derselben griechischen Handschrift in mehreren armenischen Bänden eingebunden sind. Außerdem gibt es in dem „Fonds der fremdsprachigen Fragmente" eine „griechische Sektion", die 17 Stücke umfaßt, von denen allerdings zwei lateinisch bzw. italienisch sind. Auch diese Fragmente stammen zum Teil aus Bucheinbänden.

Unter ihnen befindet sich als Nr. 12 ein Blatt, das sogleich als patristisch erkannt und mit fotografiert wurde. Nach der Rückkehr stellte es sich heraus, daß es Const. Apost. VI, 6,7–10,2 (p. 315, 10 – 323, 10 Funk) enthält. Es handelt sich um ein einzelnes, vollständig erhaltenes Pergamentblatt, das 29 × 20,2 cm mißt und auf jeder Seite eine Kolumne Text mit 45 Zeilen zu je 55–60 Buchstaben umfaßt. Das Blatt war früher in der Mitte quer gefaltet und stammt aus einem Bucheinband. Der Heftfaden, für den vier Löcher in das Pergament geschnitten sind, hat die Schrift abgescheuert, so daß in der Blattmitte auf der Vorderseite eine Zeile

[1] Vgl. E. E. Granström, Griechische Handschriften in Sammlungen der Sowjetunion (russ.), Vizantijskij Vremennik Bd. XI, S. 285.

(=p. 317, 8–9 Funk) und auf der Rückseite zwei Zeilen (=p. 321, 16–18) nicht mehr lesbar sind. Außerdem ist die Lesbarkeit der unteren Hälfte der Rückseite durch starke Abnutzung beeinträchtigt, so daß in einzelnen Fällen die Entzifferung zweifelhaft bleibt. Die Schrift ist eine kleine, aufrechte, sorgfältige und an sich gut lesbare Minuskel, die dem 10. oder 11. Jahrhundert angehören dürfte. Die nomina sacra sind in der üblichen Weise kontrahiert *(θς, ις, κς, πνα, ουνος, ανος)*.

Akzente und Spiritus sind durchgehend gesetzt. Die eckige Form des Spiritus erscheint neben der runden. Bei *μέν* und *δέ* kommt der Doppelakzent vor. Die Tinte ist braun, die kleinen Initialen innerhalb des Textes sind rot, ebenso die hochgestellten Punkte, die als Satzzeichen dienen. Am linken Rande befinden sich Einteilungszahlen zweifacher Art. Oberhalb eines Striches stehen die Kapitelzahlen 7–10, wobei bei Kap. 8 und 10 die Anfänge mit der Ausgabe von Funk übereinstimmen, dagegen bei Kap. 7 und 9 nicht: hier fallen sie jeweils mit § 2 zusammen. Unterhalb des Striches stehen die Zahlen 625–628. Ihre Bedeutung ist noch nicht geklärt. Ihre Höhe schließt die Möglichkeit aus, daß etwa die Kapitel des ganzen Werkes durchgehend gezählt sind. Da sie stets mit den Kapitelzahlen zusammenfallen, ist auch nicht an eine weitergehende Untergliederung in kurze Abschnitte zu denken.

Der Text beginnt Kap. 6,7, p. 315, 10 *φυ]λάσσοντες* und endet Kap. 10,2, p. 323, 10 *διδάσκουσιν καὶ κρεῶν* (die beiden letzten Worte müßten dem Raume nach noch auf der Seite gestanden haben, sind aber nicht mehr zu erkennen). Bei der folgenden Kollation mit der Ausgabe von F. X. Funk, Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum, Vol. I, Paderborn 1905, sind die Textzeugen für die verschiedenen Lesarten mit vermerkt, damit die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse deutlich werden.

Es zeigt sich, daß unser Fragment am nächsten mit den Handschriften e (Vatic. 2089, s. XI) und d (Vatic. 1506 vom Jahre 1024) verwandt ist, in zweiter Linie auch mit p (Leningrad. 254 vom Jahre 1111) und v (Vindob. gr. hist. 73, s. XI/XII). Mit a (Vatic. 839, s. X/XI), der besten Handschrift, auf die Funk seine Ausgabe stützt, stimmt unser Fragment nur selten überein. Anderseits teilt es auch nicht die vielen Sonderlesarten der schlechten Handschriften b (Vatic. 2088, s. XI) und o (Bodl. misc. 204, s. XI). An 11 Stellen

bietet unser Fragment, nach dem Apparat von Funk zu urteilen, eine neue Lesart. An zwei Stellen scheint eine Konjektur vorzuliegen (p. 315, 11; 319, 15), eine weitere betrifft die Schreibung eines Ortsnamens (p. 315, 16), zweimal sind Worte umgestellt (p. 317, 18; 321, 14), einmal der Artikel zugefügt (p. 321, 2). Keine der Varianten kann den zwingenden Anspruch erheben, den ursprünglichen Text darzustellen.

6, 7 p. 315, 11 *Ἐσσαῖοι] ἐπαινετοί* allein (*ἔνθεοι* b o)
8 315, 11 *οὖν] om.* mit d
7, 1 315, 16 *Γιτθῶν] Γοτθάν* allein (*γιθθῶν* o v)
315, 17 *τῇ τέχνῃ] τὴν τέχνην* mit b d e o p v
315, 17/18 *αὐτοῦ τῆς] τῆς αὐτοῦ* mit b d e h o
2 p. 317, 1 *ἐπιτιθέντες] ἐπιθέντες* mit b e h o p v
4 317, 12 *εἴη] εἰ* mit a b
317, 14 *οὐδὲ] οὔτε* allein
317, 16 *ἀπὸ] ἐπὶ* allein
317, 18 *θεωρῶ] ὁρῶ* mit allen außer a b o
317, 18 *σε ὄντα] ὄντα σε* allein
8, 1 p. 319, 3 *παρευδοκιμήσαντες] παρευδοκιμήσαντα* allein
319, 5 *Κήρινθος] Κορίνθιος* mit e
2 319, 10 *οἱ δὲ] καὶ* mit d h p v gegen a b e o
319, 10 *οἷοι οἱ] οἳ οἱ* mit b o
9, 1 319, 12 *μέντοι] μὲν οὖν* mit d e p v gegen a b h o
319, 13 *τῇ] τῆς* mit b d e o p
319, 15 *τέκνων] ἀδελφῶν* allein
319, 18 *μαθητευθέντος] μαθητεύσαντι* mit d e p v gegen b o a^2 (Text) a h *(-θέντι)*
p. 321, 2 *προφήτου] τῶν προφητῶν (τῶν* allein, *προφητῶν* mit b d o)
2 321, 6 *ἐξιστῶν] ἐξιστάνων* mit d e p gegen a h (Text) b o v *(ἐκστάνων)*
321, 6 *καὶ δαιμόνων ἐνεργείᾳ]* Text mit d e p v (om. a b h o)
321, 8 *δήμοις] δημίοις* mit b o
3 p. 321, 11 *εἰς] + τὸν* mit b
321, 12 *ἐπιχορηγήσειν] ἐπιχορηγεῖν* mit d e p v gegen a h (Text) b o *(-γῆσαι)*

321, 13 *αὐτὸν]* om. mit a b d e v gegen h p
321, 13 *εἰς]* + *τὸν* mit e
321, 14 *Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου]* *τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ* allein
321, 15 *ἐπ']* *ἐπὶ* (?) mit b e o
4 321, 23/24 *κατηνέχθη μετὰ μεγάλου ἤχου]* *μετὰ μεγάλου ἤχου κατηνέχθη* mit b d o (*ἤχους* b o v)
321, 24 *ῥαγεὶς]* + *πτῶμα* mit b d e o
321, 24 *τὸ ἰσχίον]* *τῶν ἰσχίων* allein
5 321, 26 *ὁ]* om. (?) mit b d e o p v gegen a h
321, 26 *μόνον]* *μόνος* mit e
321, 28 *παρέμειναν]* *παρεπέμειναν* allein (*παρασέμειναν* e)
10, 1 p. 323, 3 *μηδὲ]* *μήτε* mit d e p v gegen a b h o
323, 4 *ἀλλ']* *ἀλλὰ* mit b d e o
323, 6 *μὴ εἶναι καὶ ἀνταπόδοσιν]* *καὶ ἀ. μὴ εἶναι* mit e
2 323, 8 *εἶναι θεοὺς]* *θεοὺς εἶναι* mit e h o p v

Bloße graphische Varianten, die Funk nicht verzeichnet, sind nicht allzu häufig und halten sich im Rahmen des Üblichen. Dazu gehören die Vertauschungen von Vokalen: *ει* statt *η* (315, 13, 317, 22 *ἐνείργησεν*, 321, 30 *ἐνείργει*, 317, 5 *λαμβάνει*), *ει* statt *ι* (317, 7 *ἐπαγγελείαν*), *ι* statt *ει* (315, 24 *μαγγανίας*, 319, 12 *Καισαρία*), *ι* statt *η* (319, 5 *Βασιλείδις*), *η* statt *ι* (317, 13 *ἐνόμησας*), *ε* statt *η* (321, 1 *ῥέξαι*), *ε* statt *αι* (319, 10 *ἀνέδην*), *ω* statt *ο* (317, 21 *ἐξήλθωμεν*, 319, 3 *Δωσιθέῳ*), *ο* statt *ω* (319, 3 *ἐξόσαντο*).

Bei Konsonanten gibt es außer der Verdoppelung des Lambda in *βδελλύσσονται*, 319, 10, nur Abweichungen bei dem *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* (315, 27 *Σαμαρεῦσιν*, 317, 13 *ἔστιν*) und dem variablen Sigma (317, 7 *οὕτω*).

Soweit sich übersehen läßt, gehört unser Fragment zu keiner der bisher bekannten Handschriften.

Wie oben bemerkt, geht die vorstehende Mitteilung auf die Ergebnisse einer Handschriftenexpedition der Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte in die U.d.S.S.R. zurück. Ein ausführlicher Berichtsband über die Resultate dieser Reise für die „Texte und Untersuchungen" wird vorbereitet. Dort werden zum ersten Male alle griechischen neutestamentlichen Handschriften in der Sowjetunion (etwa 280) eingehend beschrieben und untersucht. Ich freue mich sehr, dass es auf meinen Vorschlag hin möglich war, hier im voraus das Fragment der Apostolischen Konstitutionen zu beschreiben. Für alles weitere seien die Leser dieser Zeitschrift auf die TU verwiesen.

W. C. VAN UNNIK

NOTES CRITIQUES SUR THEOPHILE D'ANTIOCHE, AD AUTOLYCUM LIB. II

PAR

P. NAUTIN

Le *Marcianus gr.* 496, auquel se ramène pratiquement la tradition manuscrite de l'*Ad Autolycum* de Théophile d'Antioche [1], n'est pas exempt de fautes. Chacun des éditeurs de l'ouvrage s'est vu dans la nécessité de faire des corrections au texte transmis et garde à son actif d'avoir trouvé le premier la solution de tel ou tel passage. La dernière édition proprement critique, donnée par Otto en 1861, au tome VIII de son *Corpus apologetarum*, n'a pas seulement bénéficié du travail considérable des éditeurs précédents; elle constituait elle-même une contribution nouvelle à l'établissement du texte. Mais malgré tous ses mérites elle ne peut pas être tenue pour définitive. Une nouvelle édition critique, faite par un homme de métier, ne serait pas un luxe après un siècle. Celui qui l'entreprendrait se trouverait obligé de s'écarter assez souvent du texte d'Otto, soit pour revenir à des leçons meilleures que Fell, Maran ou d'autres avaient proposées et qu'Otto a eu tort de rejeter, soit pour adopter des corrections de philologues postérieurs. Et il constaterait facilement d'autre part qu'un certain nombre de fautes restent encore à réparer. Les notes qui suivent se bornent à quelques passages relevés au cours d'une lecture récente du livre II.

II, 10 *Οὗτος οὖν, ὢν πνεῦμα θεοῦ καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ σοφία καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου, κατήρχετο εἰς τοὺς προφήτας καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐλάλει τὰ περὶ τῆς ποιήσεως τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων. Οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ προφῆται ὅτε ὁ κόσμος ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' ἡ σοφία *ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ οὖσα καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ ἅγιος αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀεὶ συμπαρὼν αὐτῷ.*

4 *ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ οὖσα* scripsi: *ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ οὖσα ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ* cod.

[1] Voir en dernier lieu R. M. Grant, *The textual Tradition of Theophilus of Antioch*, dans *Vigiliae christianae*, 6 (1952), p. 146–159.

Le manuscrit porte dans la seconde phrase *ἡ σοφία ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ οὖσα ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ*. Cette leçon pose un problème difficile aux commentateurs: que désigne le pronom *αὐτῷ*? En bonne stylistique, il faudrait le rapporter au plus proche nom masculin qui précède, c'est-à-dire à *κόσμος*. La phrase signifierait que la Sagesse de Dieu est «dans le monde». Cette interprétation, retenue autrefois par Semmler [2], vient d'être reprise par Georg Kretschmar, qui précise que pour Théophile la Sagesse de Dieu serait équivalemment «l'ordre du monde» (gleichsam die Weltordnung) [3]. Mais elle a été écartée par tous les autres historiens ou traducteurs, et à bon droit:

1. Théophile n'établit pas de différence réelle entre la Sagesse et le Verbe. Il l'a montré clairement dans la phrase précédente, en disant que le Verbe est Sagesse: *Οὗτος οὖν[=ὁ λόγος], ὢν ... σοφία*. Et on le voit encore dans la phrase présente, où il applique au Verbe un mot (*συμπαρὼν*) que l'Écriture emploie pour la Sagesse (*Prov.* VIII, 27 *συμπαρήμην αὐτῷ*, cité dans la phrase suivante). Il est donc difficile d'admettre qu'il ait voulu assigner un lieu différent au Verbe et à la Sagesse, en affirmant, dans deux membres de phrase parallèles, que la Sagesse serait dans le monde et le Verbe auprès de Dieu.

2. On sait d'autre part que, lorsque Théophile nomme séparément le Verbe et la Sagesse, la mention de la Sagesse est destinée à faire une place au Saint-Esprit préexistant [4]. Comment peut-on supposer que pour Théophile la Sagesse représentant le Saint-Esprit serait dans le monde et l'ordre du monde? Pour l'évêque d'Antioche comme pour tous ses contemporains, le Saint-Esprit,

[2] Cité par Otto, p. 81, n. 9.

[3] G. Kretschmar, *Studien zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie* (*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie*, 21), Tubingue, 1956, p. 31.

[4] C'est on ne peut plus clair en II, 15, où Théophile nomme «*la Trinité de Dieu, de son Verbe et de sa Sagesse*» (cité *infra* p. 217); en II, 18 *Οὐκ ἄλλῳ δέ τινι εἴρηκεν «Ποιήσωμεν» ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σοφίᾳ*; et en II, 9, qui suppose une équivalence entre les mots Esprit et Sagesse: *προφῆται γενόμενοι, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐμπνευσθέντες καὶ σοφισθέντες*. Irénée, qui a utilisé Théophile, lui a emprunté cette manière de mentionner la Sagesse à côté du Verbe et nous en donne l'explication formelle: *Haer.* IV, xx, 3 *Verbum, id est Filius, ... et Sapientia, quae est Spiritus...*; cf. IV, vii, 1 et xx, 1; de même dans sa *Démonstration*, 5 «*C'est avec justesse et convenance que le Fils est appelé Verbe, tandis que l'Esprit est appelé Sagesse de Dieu*».

avant d'être donné aux prophètes et aux baptizés, était certainement *en Dieu*. Une phrase antérieure dit expressément que, lorsque les prophètes reçoivent cette Sagesse, elle leur vient de Dieu (II, 9 *χωρήσαντες σοφίαν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ* [=*τοῦ θεοῦ*]).

Loofs a tenté une autre explication: *ἐν αὐτῷ* désignerait le Verbe[5]. On aurait chez Théophile la même pensée que chez Tertullien: *sermoni inerat*[6]. Mais cette hypothèse est impossible du point de vue stylistique:

1. Pour trouver une mention du Verbe avant *αὐτῷ*, il faut remonter au début de la phrase précédente: *Οὗτος οὖν* . . . On ne peut pas croire que Théophile, qui a un style toujours clair, se soit servi d'un simple *αὐτός* pour indiquer un sujet nommé à une si grande distance, alors qu'un autre nom masculin s'est présenté deux fois dans l'intervalle (*κόσμου* . . . *κόσμος*).

2. C'est encore plus incroyable quand on observe que le Verbe va être nommé aussitôt après la Sagesse: *καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ ἅγιος αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀεὶ συμπαρὼν αὐτῷ*. Un écrivain qui mentionne conjointement le Verbe et la Sagesse pour dire que celle-ci est dans celui-là, est porté à nommer d'abord le Verbe et ensuite la Sagesse qui est en lui. Pourquoi Théophile n'aurait-il pas suivi cette pente naturelle, et aurait-il nommé la Sagesse avant le Verbe en condamnant son *ἐν αὐτῷ* à renvoyer à une autre mention du Verbe qui ne se trouve qu'au début de la phrase antérieure, au delà d'un autre substantif masculin nommé deux fois? Pour supposer que *αὐτῷ* représente le Verbe, il faut tenir Théophile pour le dernier des maladroits, ce que dément le reste de son ouvrage.

L'ensemble des traducteurs et des commentateurs admet que *αὐτῷ* désigne Dieu, et c'est, nous l'avons vu, ce que suggère le contexte doctrinal. Mais ils se heurtent, eux aussi, à une impossibilité stylistique, qu'ils n'ont pas réussi à surmonter. Car, dans l'état actuel du texte, il faudrait rapporter *αὐτῷ* à un mot qui ne tient qu'une place tout à fait secondaire dans la phrase précédente: le génitif *ὑψίστου*. Il n'est pas vraisemblable que Théophile se soit contenté d'un pronom de rappel pour indiquer ce génitif lointain, quand le masculin *κόσμος* s'est interposé à deux reprises[7].

[5] Fr. Loofs, *Paulus von Samosata* (T.U., 44/5), Leipzig, 1924, p. 307–308.

[6] Tertullien, *Adu. Praxean*, 7, *eo spiritu qui sermoni inerat.*

[7] Loofs, *l.l.*, fait une autre objection, pertinente dans l'état actuel de la

La vérité, à mon sens, c'est que le texte a subi une interversion: un copiste a écrit *ἡ σοφία ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ οὖσα ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ* alors que le texte de Théophile portait *ἡ σοφία ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ οὖσα*. Il suffit pour s'en convaincre de considérer les divers éléments de la phrase:

1. La tendance naturelle d'un écrivain qui parle de la Sagesse de Dieu est de mettre la déterminatif à côté du nom qu'il détermine, et, si d'autres circonstances doivent être indiquées, comme le lieu où est cette Sagesse, de les écrire à la suite. L'expression *ἡ σοφία ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ* forme une unité qui s'écrit d'un jet, comme on a quelques lignes plus loin *ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ*.

2. Théophile réunit ici le Verbe et la Sagesse: *ἡ σοφία . . . καὶ ὁ λόγος*, suivant un schème qui lui est familier, et les deux membres de phrase sont visiblement construits pour être parallèles: ils comportent tous deux un déterminatif introduit par l'article *ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ . . . ὁ ἅγιος αὐτοῦ* et une apposition indiquant le lieu *ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ οὖσα . . . ὁ ἀεὶ συμπαρὼν αὐτῷ*. Or, dans le second membre, on a bien, conformément à la démarche spontanée de la pensée, d'abord le génitif et ensuite l'apposition: *ὁ λόγος ὁ ἅγιος αὐτοῦ, ὁ ἀεὶ συμπαρὼν αὐτῷ*. C'est un indice supplémentaire que dans le premier membre, parallèle à celui-ci, Théophile ne s'était pas écarté de l'ordre naturel et qu'il avait écrit: *ἡ σοφία ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ οὖσα*. La phrase recouvre alors sa plénitude stylistique, en même temps que la simplicité habituelle à Théophile:

ἀλλ' ἡ σοφία ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ οὖσα,
καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ ἅγιος αὐτοῦ, ὁ ἀεὶ συμπαρὼν αὐτῷ[8].

Il n'est pas rare que les copistes commettent de semblables

phrase: la précision *ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ* devient complètement inutile après *ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ οὖσα*, si *αὐτῷ* désigne Dieu; non seulement inutile, mais encore incompréhensible dans sa forme, car on ne comprend pas pourquoi Théophile aurait employé le nom lui-même *τοῦ θεοῦ* s'il venait, trois mots avant, de désigner Dieu par un pronom.

[8] L'objection de Loofs (*supra* n. 7) perd toute sa force, une fois corrigée l'interversion des deux membres de phrase. Après avoir mentionné la Sagesse de Dieu, il n'était pas hors de propos, dans le présent contexte, de souligner qu'elle était «en Dieu», pour montrer qu'elle était bien informée de ce que Dieu avait fait. Théophile précisera de même, après la mention du Verbe saint de Dieu, que ce Verbe était «près de Dieu». L'apposition *ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ οὖσα* après *ἡ σοφία ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ* a autant de raison d'être que *ὁ ἀεὶ συμπαρὼν αὐτῷ* après *ὁ λόγος ὁ ἅγιος αὐτοῦ*.

interversions, surtout entre deux groupes introduits par le même mot, comme ici *ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ* et *ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ οὖσα*[9].

II, 13 *Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγείων κάτωθεν ἄρξασθαι [καὶ] λέγειν τὴν ποίησιν τῶν γεγενημένων, ἀνθρώπινον καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ πάνυ ἀσθενὲς τὸ ἐννόημα αὐτοῦ ὡς πρὸς θεόν ἐστιν.*

2 *καί* seclusi

Il est clair que *καί* est une addition de copiste inattentif. Car les deux infinitifs *ἄρξασθαι* et *λέγειν* ne sont pas coordonnés, mais le premier dépend du second: *Pour ce qui est de dire que la création des êtres a commencé par les choses terrestres, en partant du bas, cette pensée d'Hésiode est humaine, terre-à-terre et tout à fait infirme eu égard à Dieu.*

II, 13 *Διὸ καὶ ὁ προφήτης πρῶτον εἴρηκεν τὴν ποίησιν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γεγενῆσθαι *τύπον ἐπέχοντος ὀροφῆς λέγων «Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανόν» . . . Ἓν μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα φωτὸς τύπον ἐπέχον ἐμεσίτευεν τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἵνα τρόπῳ τινὶ μὴ κοινωνῇ τὸ σκότος τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐγγυτέρῳ ὄντι τοῦ θεοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ εἰπεῖν τὸν θεὸν «Γενηθήτω φῶς».*

2 *τύπον ἐπέχοντος* scripsi: *τρόπον ἐπέχοντα* cod.

On s'étonne d'abord que Maran et Otto conservent l'accusatif *ἐπέχοντα*, absolument injustifiable. Ce participe ne peut se rapporter qu'à *οὐρανοῦ*: *le ciel, qui fait figure de sommet* (de la création). Il faut donc le mettre au génitif: *ἐπέχοντος*. Le copiste qui a commis l'erreur s'est laissé influencer par le mot précédent à l'accusatif et inconsciemment il a fait l'accord.

En outre, le verbe *ἐπέχειν* se trouve accompagné de *τρόπον* ici et de *τύπον* quelques lignes plus loin: *φωτὸς τύπον ἐπέχον*. Maran et Otto laissent *τρόπον* dans le premier cas et écrivent, dans le

[9] Les interversions se produisent ordinairement de la manière suivante: un copiste oublie un groupe de mots, puis les écrit dans la marge en indiquant par un obèle l'endroit où ils s'intercalent dans le texte; le copiste suivant ne fait pas attention à l'obèle et les introduit à un autre endroit. Comme beaucoup d'omissions proviennent d'un saut du même au même, il se trouve assez souvent que le groupe déplacé commence par le même mot que le groupe qui le suivait (ou finit par la même syllabe que le groupe qui le précédait).

second, soit *τόπον* (Maran), soit *τύπον* (Otto). Mais il est évident que nous sommes, les deux fois, en présence de la même expression, et qu'il faut l'écrire d'une manière uniforme. R. M. Grant [10] adopte dans les deux phrases la conjecture que Maran proposait pour la seconde: *τόπον ἐπέχειν*. Deux raisons me semblent inviter à écrire plutôt *τύπον ἐπέχειν*, comme le manuscrit le fait la seconde fois:

1. La même formule se retrouve plus loin, et on lit à nouveau *τύπον* dans le manuscrit: II, 15 *Ταῦτα δὲ δεῖγμα καὶ τύπον ἐπέχει μεγάλου μυστηρίου*. Le manuscrit atteste donc *τύπον* deux fois sur trois. Il faudrait de bonnes preuves pour croire qu'il s'est trompé les trois fois. Par ailleurs, la présence de *δεῖγμα, indice*, dans ce dernier passage est un argument qui paraît décisif: ce mot s'allie très bien à *τύπον, marque*, et n'a rien de commun avec *τόπον, lieu*.

2. On ne peut manquer de rapprocher *τύπον ἐπέχειν τινός* d'une autre expression *τύπον φέρειν τινός* (littéralement: porter la marque de quelque chose) qui se trouve assez fréquemment chez les écrivains chrétiens pour dire qu'une chose en *signifie*, en *représente* une autre. C'est bien ce sens qu'on donne spontanément à *τύπον ἐπέχειν* en II, 15 qui vient d'être cité: «*Ces choses indiquent et signifient un grand mystère*» (*δεῖγμα καὶ τύπον ἐπέχει*). Les deux phrases du paragraphe 13 s'accommodent parfaitement du même sens. On traduira: *C'est bien pourquoi le prophète dit d'abord qu'il y eut la création du ciel, qui fait figure de sommet: «Dans le principe Dieu a fait le ciel» . . . Seul l'esprit, qui faisait figure de lumière, se tenait entre l'eau et le ciel, afin, en quelque sorte, qu'il n'y eût pas de communion entre les ténèbres et le ciel, qui est plus proche de Dieu; cela avant que Dieu eût dit: «Que la lumière soit»* [11].

II, 15 *Ὡσαύτως καὶ αἱ τρεῖς ἡμέραι πρὸ τῶν φωστήρων γεγονυῖαι τύποι εἰσὶν τῆς τριάδος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ, τετάρτῳ δὲ *τόπῳ ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὁ προσδεὴς τοῦ φωτός, ἵνα ᾖ θεός, λόγος, σοφία, ἄνθρωπος.*

τόπῳ Maran: *τύπῳ* cod.

[10] R. M. Grant, *l.l.*, p. 157–158. Les autres mentions du nom de M. Grant renverront au même passage de son article.

[11] Le sens de *τύπον ἐπέχειν* dans ces deux passages du § 13 est confirmé par l'expression *δυνάμει, équivalemment*, dont se sert le phrase parallèle qui concerne la terre: «*γῆν*» *δὲ λέγει δυνάμει ἔδαφος καὶ θεμέλιον*. Ce *δυνάμει θεμέλιον* répond manifestement à *τύπον ἐπέχοντος ὀροφῆς*.

Ici Maran me paraît avoir vu juste. Otto et R. M. Grant préfèrent la leçon manuscrite *τύπῳ*, influencés sans doute par la proposition précédente, où il est dit que les trois premiers jours de la création sont les *figures* (*τύποι*) de Dieu, du Verbe et de la Sagesse. Mais l'expression *τετάρτῳ τύπῳ*, «*à la quatrième figure* il y a l'homme», est bizarre; on aurait beaucoup de peine, je crois, à en apporter un autre exemple, alors que dans une énumération, comme c'est le cas, la formule spontanée est *τετάρτῳ τόπῳ*, *en quatrième lieu* il y a l'homme. Cf. Irénée, *Haer.*, III, iii, 2 *τρίτῳ τόπῳ ... Κλημής ... — νῦν δωδεκάτῳ τόπῳ ... Ἐλεύθερος*. La proposition précédente de Théophile *τύποι εἰσίν ...* ne prouve pas qu'il se soit servi ici de la formule bizarre *τετάρτῳ τύπῳ*, mais elle explique très bien comment un copiste, qui gardait ce *τύποι* dans l'esprit, a écrit machinalement *τύπῳ* au lieu de *τόπῳ*.

II, 28 *Προγνώστης οὖν ὢν καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡ πλάνη ἤμελλεν διὰ τοῦ ὄφεως ὀνομάζειν πληθὺν θεῶν τῶν οὐκ ὄντων (ἑνὸς γὰρ ὄντος θεοῦ, ἔκτοτε ἤδη ἐμελέτα ἡ πλάνη πληθὺν θεῶν ὑποσπείρειν καὶ λέγειν*
4 *«Ἔσεσθε ὡς θεοί»), μήπως οὖν ὑπολημφθῇ ὡς ὅτι ὅδε μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν τὸν ἄνδρα, ἕτερος δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα, διὰ τοῦτο *ἐποίησεν τοὺς δύο ἄμφω, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ <ἔπλασεν τὸν ἄνδρα μόνον ἐκ γῆς ἵνα> διὰ τούτου δειχθῇ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς μοναρχίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν*
8 *θεόν, ἅμα δ' ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ <ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ> ἵνα πλείων ᾖ ἡ εὔνοια εἰς * αὐτήν.*

5 post *διὰ τοῦτο* add *οὖν* cod ‖ 6 *ἔπλασεν τὸν ἄνδρα μόνον ἐκ γῆς ἵνα* suppleui ‖ 8 post *γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ* add *καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ δείκνυται τελειούμενον ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. Τίς γὰρ οὐχὶ ὁ νομίμως γαμῶν οὐ καταφρονεῖ μητρὸς καὶ πατρὸς καὶ συγγενείας πάσης καὶ* cod ‖ *ἐκ τῆς πλεῦρας αὐτοῦ* suppleui ‖ 9 *αὐτήν* scripsi: *αὐτούς* cod.

Maran et tous les éditeurs qui lui ont succédé ont reconnu que les mots *καὶ ἔσονται ... πάντων* après *τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ* sont une addition fautive, car ils reviennent quelques lignes plus loin à leur place naturelle après un autre *τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ* [12]. Un

[12] Voici en effet la suite du texte: *Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν Εὔαν ὁ Ἀδὰμ εἰπὼν «Τοῦτο νῦν ὀστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὀστῶν μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου» ἔτι καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν λέγων «Τούτου ἕνεκεν καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο*

copiste, qui venait d'écrire le premier *τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ*, s'est trompé en se reportant à son modèle: fixant les yeux sur le *τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ* de la phrase suivante, il a écrit ce qui venait après celui-ci. Mais le fait qu'il se soit arrêté à *πάντων* sans aller au bout de la phrase qu'il copiait indûment, prouve qu'il s'est alors aperçu de son erreur et qu'il est revenu à la phrase initiale [13].

Cependant il ne suffit pas de raccorder les deux morceaux de cette phrase, tels que le manuscrit les donne, pour avoir un sens cohérent. Les éditeurs l'ont déjà remarqué et ont proposé des corrections.

Maran n'hésitait pas à bouleverser tout le texte pour lire: *. . . διὰ τοῦτο *οὐκ ἐποίησεν τοὺς δύο ἄμφω, ἅμα δὲ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, οὐ *μόνον ‹ἵνα› καὶ διὰ τούτου δειχθῇ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς μοναρχίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵνα πλείων ᾖ ἡ εὔνοια εἰς αὐτούς.*

Il est impossible de lui donner raison, notamment quand il décompose et transforme la locution *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καί* en *οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ καί*, en insérant au milieu une proposition entière. La formule de liaison *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καί* est trop familière à Théophile pour qu'on puisse porter des soupçons sur elle. Cf. II, 26, 29, 30, 35; III, 18, 30.

Otto maintient l'ordre des mots, mais il supprime *δέ* après *ἅμα*, pour qu'il n'y ait plus qu'une seule phrase depuis *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καί* jusqu'à *ἡ εὔνοια εἰς αὐτούς*. Il écrit: *. . . διὰ τοῦτο *οὐκ ἐποίησεν τοὺς δύο ἄμφω. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ‹ἵνα› διὰ τούτου δειχθῇ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς μοναρχίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν θεόν, ἅμα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἵνα πλείων ᾖ ἡ εὔνοια εἰς αὐτούς.* Cette solution n'est pas plus vraisemblable, pour deux raisons au moins:

1. Il est déjà téméraire en soi de supprimer *δέ* après *ἅμα*, car on trouve ailleurs chez Théophile la formule *ἅμα δέ*, qui marque un début de phrase. Cf. II, 25.

2. En outre, le sens obtenu n'est pas satisfaisant. Dans cette hypothèse, en effet, le proposition finale *‹ἵνα› διὰ τούτου δειχθῇ*

εἰς σάρκα μίαν», ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ δείκνυται τελειούμενον ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. Τίς γὰρ ὁ νομίμως γαμῶν οὐ καταφρονεῖ μητρὸς καὶ πατρὸς καὶ πάσης συγγενείας καὶ πάντων τῶν οἰκείων προσκολλώμενος καὶ ἑνούμενος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικί, εὐνοῶν μᾶλλον αὐτῇ.

[13] Il a sûrement exponctué les mots fautifs, mais comme souvent en pareil cas le copiste suivant n'a pas remarqué les points et a recopié le tout.

τὸ μυστήριον τῆς μοναρχίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν θεόν est rattachée à la principale *ἅμα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ*. Or on voit mal comment le fait que Dieu a fait la femme pourrait prouver l'unité de Dieu. Ce qui est plutôt de nature à la montrer, c'est qu'il a fait un seul être à partir du limon, l'homme sans la femme.

Il n'y a donc pas lieu de toucher aux deux expressions *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καί* et *ἅμα δέ*. Et comme Théophile s'en sert dans les autres occasions pour introduire une phrase nouvelle, on doit admettre qu'elles ont la même fonction ici. Il nous faut par conséquent distinguer trois phrases, que nous allons examiner successivement.

Dans la première: ... *μήπως οὖν ὑπολημφθῇ ὡς ὅτι ὅδε μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν τὸν ἄνδρα, ἕτερος δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα, διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἐποίησεν τοὺς δύο ἄμφω*, le second *οὖν*, en tête de l'apodose, est manifestement fautif [14]. Maran et Otto le transforment en *οὐκ*. A contresens, m'est avis. Car Théophile ne pouvait pas nier que «Dieu les a faits tous deux l'un et l'autre» (*τοὺς δύο ἄμφω*). Sa pensée était bien plutôt: Pour qu'on ne suppose pas que tel dieu a fait l'homme et un autre la femme, il les a faits tous deux l'un et l'autre, mais il a façonné l'homme seul à partir de la terre, pour montrer par là l'unicité divine, et il a tiré la femme du côté de l'homme. La particule *οὖν* ne peut être ni retenue ni changée en *οὐκ*; elle est certainement l'addition d'un copiste qui a senti à tort le *διὰ τοῦτο* comme un début de phrase. Des additions machinales de ce genre se rencontrent assez souvent sous la plume des copistes [14bis].

[14] Dans le seul passage de l'*Ad Aut.* où j'ai remarqué *μήπως* (III, 27), Théophile l'emploie comme conjonction de subordination. Le *διὰ τοῦτο* répond manifestement à ce *μήπως* et introduit la proposition principale.

[14bis] La présence des deux conjonctions *ὡς ὅτι* ne doit pas surprendre. On a d'autres exemples de leur emploi simultané dans le grec tardif. Voir W. Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des N.T. und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*, 4° éd., Berlin 1952, sub *ὅτι* I, d, *β*, col. 1071 (trois exemples dans le N.T.: *2 Cor.* V, 19; *2 Thess.* II, 2; *2 Cor.* XI, 21); et Blass–Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 9° éd., Göttingen, 1953, § 396, p. 245 (signale, en plus des trois textes de Paul, plusieurs exemples dans les Homélies clémentines, et renvoie à d'autres grammaires qui ont relevé le même phénomène chez d'autres auteurs). Il semble que dans notre passage de Théophile, *ὡς ὅτι* n'est pas un simple équivalent de *ὅτι* comme il l'est d'autres fois, mais que *ὡς* garde sa valeur subjective: c'est pour indiquer que la proposition qui suit n'exprime pas un fait, mais une supposition que Théophile rejette complètement.

Dans la deuxième phrase: *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τούτου δειχθῇ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς μοναρχίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν θεόν*, Maran et Otto ont eu raison de penser que *ἵνα* était tombé devant *διὰ τούτου δειχθῇ*, étant donné que ce verbe est au subjonctif. Mais la lacune est plus grande qu'ils ne l'ont supposé. Elle a emporté aussi la proposition principale qui régissait *‹ἵνα› διὰ τούτου δειχθῇ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς μοναρχίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν θεόν*, car cette proposition finale ne peut pas se rapporter à la principale qui suit, ainsi que nous l'avons vu. La proposition absente traitait certainement de la création de l'homme, puisque celui-ci va être désigné ensuite par un simple pronom de rappel: *τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ*. Je propose donc de rétablir: *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ‹ἔπλασεν τὸν ἄνδρα μόνον ἐκ γῆς, ἵνα› διὰ τούτου δειχθῇ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς μοναρχίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν θεόν, mais en outre il a façonné l'homme seul à partir de la terre pour > que par là fût indiqué le mystère de l'unicité divine.* Cette restitution est celle qui paraît convenir le mieux pour le sens. On observera, au surplus, qu'elle suppose une lacune de 28 lettres. Or, comme R. M. Grant l'a remarqué, une autre faute du texte tend à prouver que le *Marc. gr.* 496 a eu parmi ses ancêtres un manuscrit comportant une moyenne de 26 lettres par ligne, et qu'il est arrivé au copiste postérieur qui a pris ce manuscrit pour modèle d'omettre des lignes [15]. Notre lacune s'explique ainsi d'une manière très plausible, par l'oubli d'une ligne de ce manuscrit dans la copie qui a été faite d'après lui. Il est permis de croire, en conséquence, que la restitution proposée, qui correspond au sens attendu, ne doit pas s'écarter beaucoup, même dans sa forme, de ce que Théophile avait écrit.

Quant à la troisième phrase, une fois supprimée l'addition qu'un copiste a commise après *τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ*, on obtient ceci:

[15] En II, 7, il est indéniable que les mots *καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ματαιοπονίαν* (26 lettres) ont été déplacés, comme Maran l'a reconnu et tous les éditeurs depuis lors. Puisque l'oubli de ce groupe de mots ne provient pas d'un saut du même au même, il est très probable qu'il correspond à une ligne sautée. M. Grant cite encore l'addition fautive (et reconnue comme telle par Otto) de *ὁ ἐξαγαγὼς φῶς ἐκ θησαυρῶν αὐτοῦ* en I, 6; mais cet exemple est moins convaincant, car les mots ajoutés ne peuvent s'insérer nulle part ailleurs; ils sont plutôt une glose marginale. Quant à l'hypothèse d'un déplacement de *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπ'ἀκοὴν πίπτοντα* en I, 2, proposée par M. Grant, je la crois mal fondée.

ἅμα δ' ἐποίησεν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἵνα πλείων ᾖ ἡ εὔνοια εἰς αὐτούς, et en même temps il fit la femme, afin aussi que la bienveillance fût plus grande pour eux. Il faut avouer que c'est peu clair, et à tout le moins inattendu: on ne comprend pas comment la création de la femme rend plus grande la bienveillance (de Dieu?) pour eux (pour l'homme et la femme?). Le texte a visiblement souffert. Mais le contexte antérieur et postérieur permet de retrouver le véritable enchaînement des pensées. Si l'on se reporte, en effet, au début du passage, on voit que toutes ces réflexions sur la création de l'homme et de la femme ont été introduites par la remarque que Dieu a fait la femme en la tirant «du côté de l'homme» (*ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ*) au lieu de la façonner «à part» (*κατ' ἰδίαν*) [16]. Il saute aux yeux que Théophile, revenant dans notre phrase à la création de la femme, veut expliquer la particularité qu'il a déjà soulignée dans cette création. Il faut lire à coup sûr *ἅμα δ' ἐποίησεν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ‹ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ›* et ensuite *ἵνα πλείων ᾖ ἡ εὔνοια εἰς αὐτήν* (au lieu de *αὐτούς*). La phrase devient alors intelligible: *et en même temps il fit la femme <en la tirant du côté de l'homme>, afin que la bienveillance de l'homme fût plus grande pour elle.* Le fait que la femme a été tirée de la poitrine de l'homme explique pour Théophile comme pour l'auteur de la Genèse l'attachement privilégié de l'homme à son épouse. Et c'est bien ce qu'indique aussi la suite du texte [17]. Car Théophile cite aussitôt deux paroles d'Adam; la première: «*C'est la chair tirée de ma chair*», confirme l'*ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ* de notre phrase, et la seconde: «*C'est pourquoi l'homme quittera son père et sa mère et s'attachera à sa femme*» justifie la remarque *ἵνα πλείων ᾖ ἡ εὔνοια εἰς αὐτήν*. D'ailleurs, dans la phrase qui vient ensuite, le mot de «bienveillance» reparaît, et il s'agit, comme nous venons de le conjecturer, de la bienveillance de l'homme pour sa femme: «*Car quel est l'homme légitimement marié qui ne néglige pas sa mère, son père, toute sa famille et tous ses proches, pour s'attacher et s'unir*

[16] Le paragraphe commence ainsi: *Ἐκβληθεὶς δὲ Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου οὕτως ἔγνω Εὔαν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ὡς μὴ δυνάμενος κατ' ἰδίαν πλάσαι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ προηπίστατο ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἤμελλον οἱ ἄνθρωποι πληθὺν θεῶν ὀνομάζειν. Προγνώστης οὖν* . . . (suit notre passage).

[17] Citée plus haut, n. 12.

à sa femme en lui portant plus de bienveillance (qu'à eux)? Les mots *εὐνοῶν μᾶλλον αὐτῇ* qui se lisent ici ne font que reprendre sous une autre forme la proposition *ἵνα πλείων ᾖ ἡ εὔνοια εἰς αὐτήν* et confirment définitivement la restitution *αὐτήν* à la place de *αὐτούς*.

Les fautes accumulées que cette phrase a subies s'expliquent facilement. L'omission de *ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ* après *τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ* est un saut du même au même entre les deux *αὐτοῦ*, quand le copiste qui avait commis l'addition *καὶ ἔσονται ... πάντων* est revenu à la phrase initiale. Le *καί* qui suit *πάντων* est dû probablement à un copiste – celui-là ou un autre – qui, venant d'écrire plusieurs membres coordonnés (*μητρὸς καὶ πατρὸς καὶ πάσης συγγενείας καὶ πάντων*), s'est laissé emporté par son élan et a ajouté un nouveau *καί* après le dernier membre [18]. L'addition de *καί* suppose donc déjà faite l'addition des mots *καὶ ἔσονται ... πάντων*. Il en va de même pour la transformation de *εἰς αὐτήν* en *εἰς αὐτούς*. C'est une «faute au second degré», correction intentionnelle provoquée par la première addition. Après l'énumération *μητρὸς καὶ πατρὸς καὶ πάσης συγγενείας καὶ πάντων*, le féminin singulier était devenu incompréhensible; un copiste postérieur a cru bien faire de mettre le masculin pluriel à raison des personnes multiples qui venaient d'être nommées. Ce phénomène de fautes qui s'entraînent les unes les autres est bien connu.

Je propose donc d'écrire le passage entier comme on l'a lu plus haut, et de traduire: ... *pour qu'on n'en vienne donc pas à supposer que tel dieu a fait l'homme et un autre la femme, il les a faits tous deux, l'un et l'autre; mais en outre il a façonné l'homme seul à partir de la terre, afin que fût indiqué par là le mystère de l'unicité divine;*

[18] Il ne semble pas, en effet, qu'on puisse maintenir ce *καί* devant *ἵνα* dans le texte. Pour dire «afin aussi que», on écrirait *ἵνα καὶ* et non *καὶ ἵνα*. Pour justifier cette dernière tournure, il faudrait supposer qu'une autre raison venait d'être alléguée, par exemple sous la forme *<διὰ τὸ ...> καὶ ἵνα*; mais on ne voit pas quelle pourrait être cette autre raison. D'après ce qu'on sait des mécanismes qui provoquent les fautes des copistes, l'explication proposée est assez vraisemblable pour qu'on la préfère à une autre hypothèse, jusqu'à preuve du contraire. On aura remarqué, du reste, qu'un *οὐχί* fautif s'est également introduit au sein de l'addition *καὶ ἔσονται ... πάντων* après *τίς γάρ* (voir à l'apparat critique).

et en même temps Dieu a fait la femme en la tirant du côté de l'homme, afin que la bienveillance de l'homme fût plus grande pour elle.

II, 31 *Τῶν μὲν οὖν υἱῶν τοῦ Νῶε καὶ τῆς *συγγενείας αὐτῶν καὶ γενεαλογίας ἐγένετο ἡμῖν ὁ κατάλογος ἐν ἐπιτομῇ ἐν ᾗ προειρήκαμεν βίβλῳ.*

1 *συγγενείας* Fell: *συντελείας* cod.

Maran et Otto ont été mal inspirés de ne pas adopter la conjecture de Fell. Le *συντελείας* du manuscrit n'a véritablement aucun sens, tandis que *συγγενείας*, *parenté*, est le mot que tout le contexte appelle: *Quant aux trois fils de Noé, à leur parenté et à leur descendance, nous en avons la liste succincte dans le Livre que nous avons mentionné plus haut* (dans le Livre de la Genèse, cf. II, 29). L'échange des deux mots était des plus faciles. Souvent les manuscrits anciens ne font pas l'assimilation *γγ* et écrivent *νγ* [19]. Entre *CYNΓΕΝΕΙΑC* et *CYNΤΕΛΕΙΑC* le risque de confusion était grand, à cause de la ressemblance de *Γ* et *T*, puis de *N* et *Λ*.

II, 32 *Ἐντεῦθεν οὖν κατανοεῖν τὰς ἱστορίας ἔστιν τοῖς φιλομαθέσιν καὶ φιλαρχαίοις, *ὅτι οὐ πρόσφατά ἐστιν τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενα διὰ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν.*

2 *ὅτι οὐ* scripsi: *ὅπου* cod.

La leçon manuscrite *ὅπου* est une erreur. Théophile n'a certainement pas dit que les choses que les chrétiens trouvent dans leurs Livres saints sont récentes, mais le contraire. Un des thèmes principaux de son ouvrage est de prouver que l'enseignement des auteurs sacrés remonte à une antiquité beaucoup plus haute que celui des auteurs païens. Otto, reprenant une conjecture ancienne, corrige cet *ὅπου* en *εἶπου*, et obtient, certes, un sens plus recevable: *Ceux qui aiment l'étude et l'antiquité peuvent par là comprendre l'histoire et voir SI les choses que nous disons en nous servant des saints prophètes sont récentes.* Mais tout prouve que Théophile avait écrit plutôt *ὅτι οὐ*. La ressemblance graphique entre *OTIOY* et

[19] Ainsi dans le papyrus de Toura portant le commentaire de Didyme d'Alexandrie sur la Genèse.

ΟΠΟΥ est frappante. Le sens lui-même devient meilleur: *QUE les choses que nous disons en nous servant des saints prophètes NE sont PAS récentes.* Enfin, on a, en III, 29, un passage parallèle, qui emploie la même tournure en exprimant la même idée: *Τῶν οὖν χρόνων καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἁπάντων συνηθροισμένων, ὁρᾶν ἔστιν τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τῶν προφητικῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τὴν θειότητα τοῦ παρ'ἡμῖν λόγου, ὅτι οὐ πρόσφατος ὁ λόγος.*

35 *Boulevard Joffre*
Bourg-la-Reine, Seine

THE TWOFOLD WAY (I)

PLATONIC INFLUENCES IN THE WORK OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

BY

J. WYTZES

> Christian theology as practised by the fathers of the Church was really the result of treating the problems of Christianity with the concepts and methods of Platonic theology. JAEGER.[1]
> Il a fallu attendre la pensée chrétienne pour revenir au platonisme pur. FESTUGIÈRE[2].

The title of this article has been derived from Clement's own words. He asserts that there are two ways that lead to salvation: *Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπαγόντων εἰς τὴν τελείωσιν τῆς σωτηρίας ὁδοὶ εὑρίσκονται δύο, ἔργα καὶ γνῶσις*[3].

We wish to make some comments on both concepts, giving more attention to their agreement with Plato's philosophy than to their undeniable difference from the latter.

In his great work Paideia Jaeger says ... "between God and the human soul there is, according to Plato, a long and laborious process of perfection. Aretè is not possible without perfectness. The bridge which Plato sets up between the soul and God is paideia"[4]. As far as Plato is concerned, we might quote the pronouncement which summarizes the whole tenor of the Phaedo: *Εἰς δέ γε θεῶν γένος μὴ φιλοσοφήσαντι καὶ παντελῶς καθαρῷ ἀπιόντι οὐ θέμις ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ φιλομαθεῖ*[5]. Mutatis mutandis

---

[1] W. Jaeger, Paideia II, pg. 414, nt. 39a.

[2] A. J. Festugière, Contemplation et vie contemplative selon Platon[2], pg. 329.

[3] str. 4, 39, 1, cf. 4, 109, 3; 6, 122, 4 *καὶ ἡ σωτηρία διά τε εὐπραγίας διά τε γνώσεως παραγίνεται, ὧν ἀμφοῖν ὁ κύριος διδάσκαλος* and 2, 5, 3; 2, 46, 1; 7, 48, 4 *οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀίδιον σωτηρίαν τοῖς συνεργοῦσιν πρὸς γνῶσιν τε καὶ εὐπραγίαν (παρέχεται).*

[4] Jaeger o.c. pg. 418, nt. 81.

[5] Phaedo 82b.

Clement might have subscribed to the purport of these words. He is convinced that the heavenly rewards are given to the perfect: *μεθ' ἣν ἀπολύτρωσιν τὸ γέρας καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ τελειωθεῖσιν ἀποδίδονται*[6]. It is true that in this important passage the term *ἀπολύθρωσιν* means the penance done after this life[7], but this does not make any difference, the life of penitential exercise is continued after death[8]. This is why Clement relates with approval an old anecdote (*καὶ μοι δοκεῖ κἀκεῖνο καλῶς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι λέγεσθαι* str. 7, 48, 5) about the athlete who after prolonged training took up a position in front of the image of Zeus and claimed the victory: *εἰ πάντα, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ, δεόντως μοι τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα παρεσκεύασται, ἀπόδος*[9] *φέρων δικαίως τὴν νίκην ἐμοι*[10]. God, he continues, demands from us what lies in our power. If anybody wants to commune with God he must needs be perfect: *Διὸ καὶ ἄχραντον τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχειν χρὴ καὶ ἀμίαντον εἰλικρινῶς τὸν προσομιλοῦντα τῷ θεῷ, μάλιστα μὲν ἀγαθὸν τελέως ἑαυτὸν ἐξειργασμένον*[11]. It is as if at the end of his life Socrates is heard to say (for the victory of the athlete also occurs at the end of the gnostic's life):[12] *ὥστε ἥ γε ἀποδημία, ἣ νῦν μοι προστεταγμένη, μετὰ ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος γίγνεται καὶ ἄλλῳ ἀνδρὶ, ὅς ἡγεῖται οἱ παρεσκευάσθαι τὴν δίανοιαν ὥσπερ κεκαθαρμένην*[13]. Clement quotes this pronouncement with approval[13a].

Only the perfect soul is deemed worthy of contemplating God: *ἡ γνωστικὴ ψυχὴ . . . καθαρὰ τέλεον γενομένη, „πρόσωπον", φησί, „πρὸς πρόσωπον" ὁρᾶν ἀιδίως καταξιουμένη τὸν παντοκράτορα θεόν*[14]. Through holiness a man comes to God: *εἰ τοίνυν . . . εἰς τὸ ἀχανὲς ἁγιότητι προίοιμεν, τῇ νοήσει τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἁμῇ γέ πῃ*

---

[6] str. 7, 56, 4.

[7] str. 7, 56, 3.

[8] cf. my article in Vigiliae Christianae vol. IX, nr. 3, pg. 150.

[9] *ἀπο* in compounds has the sense of receiving what one is entitled to.

[10] str. 7, 48, 5.

[11] str. 7, 49, 1.

[12] The image of the crowned athlete also in str. 7, 20, 3; 7, 67.

[13] Phaedo 67c. The same thought passim.

[13a] str. 4, 144, 2.

[14] str. 7, 68, 4; str. 4, 152, 3 *ἐν οὖν τῷ θεωρητικῷ βίῳ ἑαυτοῦ τις ἐπιμελεῖται θρησκεύων τὸν θεὸν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας εἰλικρινοῦς καθάρσεως ἐποπτεύει τὸν θεὸν ἅγιον ἁγίως.*

προσαγοιμεν<ἀν> [15]. This perfection leading to God is attained by the gnostic's lifelong exertions carrying out Gods commandments: ἡ μὲν ἀγάπη τήρησις τῶν εἰς γνῶσιν ἀναγουσῶν ἐντολῶν, ἡ τήρησις δὲ αὐτῶν βεβαίωσις τῶν ἐντολῶν, δι' ἣν ἡ ἀφθαρσία ἐπισυμβαίνει, ἀφθαρσία δὲ ἐγγὺς εἶναι ποιεῖ θεοῦ [16]. To compare this whole trend of thoughts we could perhaps not unsuitably cite the final sentence of the Diotimaspeech in the Symposion: τεκόντι δὲ ἀρετὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ θρεψαμένῳ ὑπάρχει θεοφιλεῖ γενέσθαι, καὶ εἴπερ τῳ ἄλλῳ ἀνθρώπων ἀθανάτῳ καὶ ἐκείνῳ; [16a].

Is such perfection attainable? There are all kinds of utterances in Clement urging us to give an affirmative answer, e.g. a passage like the following: τοῦ δὲ γνωστικοῦ μετὰ τὴν ἄλλοις (Jews and Greeks) νομιζομένην τελείωσιν ἡ δικαιοσύνη εἰς ἐνέργειαν εὐποιίας προβαίνει· καὶ ὅτῳ δὴ ἡ ἐπίτασις τῆς δικαιοσύνης εἰς ἀγαθοποιίαν ἐπιδέδωκεν, τουτῷ ἡ τελείωσις ἐν ἀμεταβόλῳ ἕξει εὐποιίας καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ θεοῦ διαμένει [17]. Such an assertion surely makes the impression of referring to cases that may occur in everyday life. In other cases it is possible to doubt [18]. In opposition to Buri [19], who considers the gnostic's ἕξις to be an unlosable mystical lasting state (unverlierbaren, mystischen Dauerzustand) Völker maintains that Clement "eine Idealschilderung beabsichtigt" [20],

---

[15] str. 5, 71, 3; 7, 13, 2: αὕτη τοίνυν ἡ ἐνέργεια τοῦ τελειωθέντος γνωστικοῦ, προσομιλεῖν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως ἐξομοιούμενον εἰς δύναμιν τῷ κυριῷ διὰ πάσης τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν θεραπείας, ἥτις εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων διατείνει σωτηρίαν . . . κατά τε τὴν διδασκαλίαν κατά τε τὴν δι' ἔργων εὐποιίαν. Though this passage opens with words suggesting the heavenly life after death (e.g. ἀϊδίως ἀίδιον εὐφροσύνην καρπουμένας) the last words of our quotation and their more precise definition in what follows again point to earthly life. Cf. 7, 15, 1 ἀλλ' ὅμοιον τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι φαίνεται (God viz.).

[16] str. 6, 121, 3.

[16a] Symp. 212.

[17] str. 6, 60, 3.

[18] References in W. Völker, Der wahre Gnostiker nach Clemens Alexandrinus, 1952, pg. 540 sqq. cf. str. 7, 45, 3.

[19] F. Buri, Clemens Alexandrinus und der paulinische Freiheitsbegriff, 1939, pg. 47.

[20] Völker o.c. pg. 455 nt 2. Cf. pg. 490 where he discusses love (all gnostic virtues hang together): "Ihre ständige Betätigung läszt sie den Menschen zur zweiten Natur werden". ἐν ἀμεταβόλῳ ἕξει εὐποιίας . . . διαμένει (str. 6, 60, 3).

although on the same page he says: "Es handelt sich also nicht mehr um ein gelegentliches Tun, sondern die aretè ist gleichsam zur zweiten Natur geworden, zu einem *unverlierbaren* Besitz". All the same Völkers statement has a certain measure of probability. In str. 7, 46, 5 Clement argues that the gnostic does not pray for the same things as an ordinary believer, but prays that God may not let him lose his virtue, a calamity that befell the fallen angels: *ναὶ μὴν μηδὲ ἀποπεσεῖν ποτε τῆς ἀρετῆς αἰτήσεται, συνεργῶν μάλιστα πρὸς τὸ ἄπτωτος διαγενέσθαι. οἶδεν γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων τινὰς ὑπὸ ῥᾳθυμίας ὀλισθήσαντας αὖθις χαμαὶ μηδέπω τέλεον εἰς τὴν μίαν ἐκείνην ἕξιν ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὴν διπλόην ἐπιτηδειότητος ἐκθλίψαντας ἑαυτούς.* But in the same reasoning there follows again: *μέγιστον ἄρα ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ θεοῦ. Διὸ καὶ ταύτῃ σῴζεται τὸ ἀναπόβλητον τῆς ἀρετῆς* [21]. The latter passage sounds rather definite. And other data extensify the impression that there is really question of a lasting state. In his efforts the gnostic fixes his eyes on the angels and the prophets, and above all on the Lord, who has enabled the gnostic to obtain life: *τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν κύριον τὸν διδάξαντα καὶ παραστήσαντα δυνατὸν εἶναι τὸν κορυφαῖον ἐκεῖνον κτήσασθαι βίον* [22]. Str. 7, 80, 1 no doubt describes a gnostic's earthly life (at least that of a possible gnostic): *οὗτος ἐν ἕξει γενόμενος εὐποιητικῇ θᾶττον τοῦ λέγειν καλῶς εὐεργετεῖ*, then follows details and the conclusion is: *ἀναμάρτητος μὲν μένει, ἐγκρατὴς δε γίνεται, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὁμοίων διάγει τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς τῶν ἁγίων, κἂν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔτι κατέχηται.*

This is certainly the case with what he calls the spiritual presbytery in contradistinction to the office of those elected by the congregation. The passage is important enough to be quoted. Clement has discussed the election of Matthias in Judas' place and draws his conclusion from it: *ἔξεστιν οὖν καὶ νῦν ταῖς κυριακαῖς ἐνασκήσαντας ἐντολαῖς, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τελείως βιώσαντας καὶ γνωστικῶς, εἰς τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων* [22a] *ἐγγραφῆναι. οὗτος πρεσβύτερος ἐστι τῷ ὄντι τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ διάκονος ἀληθὴς τῆς τοῦ*

[21] str. 7, 47, 3.

[22] str. 7, 63, 1.

[22a] The apostles "diesen leuchtenden Vorbildern christlichen Vollkommenheit" (Völker 437), cf. str. 6, 96, 3 *πάντες μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, πρὸς ἀρετῆς κτῆσιν πεφύκασιν . . . διὸ καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξήρκεσαν μέχρι τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς.*

θεοῦ βουλήσεως, ἐὰν ποιῇ καὶ διδάσκῃ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου, οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων χειροτονούμενος, οὐδ', ὅτι πρεσβύτερος, δίκαιος νομιζομένος, ἀλλ', ὅτι δίκαιος, ἐν πρεσβυτερίῳ καταλεγόμενος [22b]. Such gnostic presbyters must have existed, else there would be no point in opposing them to the ordinary ones. For Clement is convinced that keeping God's commandments lies in the power of man [23]. In the story of the athlete quoted he says: *Ὥιδε γὰρ καὶ τῷ γνωστικῷ, ἀνεπιλήπτως καὶ εὐσυνειδήτως τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πάντα ἐκπεπληρωκότι εἴς τε τὴν μάθησιν εἴς τε τὴν συνάσκησιν, εἴς τε τὴν εὐποιίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν εὐαρέστησιν τῷ θεῷ, τὸ πᾶν συναίρεται πρὸς τὴν τελειοτάτην σωτηρίαν* [24]. Attention should be paid to the word *συνειδήτως*. The gnostic, consequently, has a good conscience during his earthly life, as good as at the moment of his death when he appears before God's judgment seat [25]. The gnostic souls can say: *ἀκολούθως οἷς ἐνετείλω ἐζήσαμεν, μηδὲν τῶν παρηγγελμένων παραβεβηκυῖαι* [26]. This is the *παρρησία* [27]. The gnostic feels sure with respect to God, he no longer supplicates, but asks for what is his due: *ἀπαιτεῖ παρὰ κυρίου, οὐχι δὲ καὶ αἰτεῖ* [28]. In the previous section Clement had said of the gnostic that the

---

[22b] str. 6, 106, 1 sqq.

[23] str. 6, 115, 2 *δυνατὰ γὰρ ἐνετείλατο*; cf. 7, 8, 6 *τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώποις κατὰ τὴν ἐπακοὴν τῶν ἐντολῶν δείξων ἀφίκετο* (Christ); 2, 26, 3 *τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν δὲ ἑκάστου ἀπαιτεῖ* (God); 6, 96, 2; 7, 101, 4. "Die Tugend fällt unter die Rubrik des *τὸ ἐφ ἡμῖν* (Völker 457) Examples: str. 7, 16, 2 *τὸ πιστεύειν τε καὶ πείθεσθαι ἐφ ἡμῖν* and 7, 101, 6 *σχεδὸν δύο εἰσὶν ἀρχαί πάσης ἁμαρτίας, ἄγνοια καὶ ἀσθένεια (ἄμφω δὲ ἐφ ἡμῖν)*; 7, 48, 7 *ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαιτεῖται παρ' ἡμῶν, τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν* . . .

[24] str. 7, 48, 6.

[25] str. 7, 78, 3 *εὐσυνείδητος πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον καὶ ἀεί ἕτοιμος* . . . cf. 7, 79, 4; 7, 83, 1 *οὐδὲ αἰσχύνεται ἀποθανεῖν, συνείδητος ὢν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ὀφθῆναι, πάντας, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποκεκαθαρμένος σπίλους.* This mood might be compared with the feelings Plato makes Socrates express at the end of the latters life, if every moralistic doctrine did not inspire confidence in one's own achievements.

[26] str. 7, 72, 6, cf. 7, 71, 3 *ἵνα τότε εἴπῃ μετὰ παρρησίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν: ὡς θέλεις ςῶ.* This is found in the interesting passage opening with *ἀλλ' ἡμῖν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα προγυμναστέον ποικίλως τὴν ψυχὴν* . . .

[27] str. 7, 44, 8. Völker remarks (514, cf. 503) "Die ganze Fülle dessen was das N. T. unter *παρρησία* verstanden hat, hat Clemens nicht festgehalten — es fehlt vornehmlich der wichtige Gedanke dass sie in Christus wurzelt —.

[28] str. 7, 81, 4.

latter had made himself worthy of receiving: *παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δε ἄξιον γενόμενον λαμβάνειν.* Here occurs the typical term *ἄξιος*. Clement again and again attributes this predicate to the gnostic. He is worthy to get into heaven, *ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν παρασχὼν δὶα καθαρότητα*[29], worthy of receiving the gift [30], of being called the Lord's brother [31]. That a man would have acquired worthiness before God in any way and would be saved accordingly, is a thought which is not to be found in the New Testament; on the contrary, it is an error which St. Paul combats which might and main. In the Gospel a man is saved through grace, which he accepts through faith. Also Clement had read this view, but its true sense did not penetrate to him. He found it difficult to fit such statements into his own conceptions and interpreted them in accordance with his own views. When reading *"ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε"*, we must not understand these words, he thinks, to refer to those who only believe, the works belong to it as well. This word was spoken to the Jews who already led an irreproachable life according to the law [32]. There is a highly interesting passage which contains the complete reverse of St. Paul's message in Rom. 4, 3 in Clement's exposition in str. 6, 102, 5: *ᾗ μὲν οὖν τίς ἐστι δίκαιος, πάντως οὗτος καὶ πιστός, ᾗ δε πιστός, οὐδέπω καὶ δίκαιος, τὴν κατὰ προκοπὴν καὶ τελείωσιν δικαιοσύνην λέγω, καθ' ἣν ὁ γνωστικὸς δίκαιος λέγεται. αὐτίκα τῷ Αβραὰμ πιστῷ γενομένῳ "ἐλογίσθη εἰς δικαιοσύνην", εἰς τὸ μεῖζον καὶ τελείοτερον τῆς πίστεως προβεβηκότι.* This is precisely what St. Paul does not mean to say, but it is entirely in accordance with Clement's basic thoughts. He does not know justification through faith, at least he hardly mentions it [33]. He all the more

---

[29] str. 7, 79, 4.

[30] str. 7, 82, 7.

[31] str. 3, 69, 4; cf. 6, 109, 6. These examples may suffice. This word *ἄξιος* and its compounds are found on every page of Clements works.

[32] str. 6, 108, 4 *ὥστε ὅταν ἀκούσωμεν „ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε", οὐχ ἁπλῶς τοὺς ὁπωσοῦν πιστεύσαντας σωθήσεσθαι λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐκδεχόμεθα, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπακολουθήσῃ. Αυτίκα Ιουδαίοις μόνοις ταύτην ἔλεγε τὴν φωνὴν τοῖς νομικῶς καὶ ἀνεπιλήπτως βεβιωκόσιν, οἷς μόνον ἡ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἐπελείπτο πίστις.* cf. 5, 7, 1, where he adds to the text *„χάριτι γὰρ σῳζόμεθα"* the words: *οὐκ ἄνευ μέντοι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων* and elaborates this theme.

[33] In str. 1, 38, 1 Clement assures us however, on the ground of the text *Ἀβραὰμ δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ἀλλ' ἐκ πίστεως* that faith is necessary

often mentions the word ἄσκησις and cognate terms. God's concern with mankind, according to Clement, is chiefly of an educational character [34]. In itself this is sufficient proof that he could hardly imagine the New Testament notion of grace in the sense of the acquital of a sinner without any merit or act on the part of the sinner. We may safely say that grace in this sense does not play a rôle in his theology and piety. Now a man's paideia comes to the fore as an indispensable complement to the divine paideia. Already at this stage of our inquiry we wish to point out that Clement is not concerned with the performance of a number of good works that he could submit to God as meritorious. In this respect he differs from the latter Roman-Catholic form of Christianity. Clement is concerned with the selfeducation of the Christian [35] – apart from the divine education – to a perfect man, already on earth an heavenly being [36]. The fact that his Christianity and his piety assumed this form, is due to the influence of Platonic philosophy. Of this philosophy Jaeger says: "Justice is the health of the soul itself, if we take health to be moral perfection. It does not lay in separate actions, but in the ἕξις, the permanent state of having a good will" [37].

But to return to the askèsis [38]. The latter leads to salvation,[39]

---

for Greek philosophers even though they behave well, κἂν εὐεργεῖς ὦσιν. Clement, of course, knows the notion χάρις, but this is more a grace of God, not saving grace. As to δικαιοσύνη str. 6, 77, 5 οὗ (of the gnostic) δ' ἔστι ‹τὸ› θρησκεύειν τὸ θεῖον διὰ τῆς ὄντως δικαιοσύνης, ἔργων τε καὶ γνώσεως, str. 6, 125, 5 τῷ τελείῳ γὰρ οὐκ ἐν συμβολαίοις πολιτικοῖς οὐδὲ ἐν ἀπαγορεύσει νόμου, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἰδιοπραγίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπης (closely connected with gnosis) ἡ δικαιοσύνη and str. 4, 117, 2 expressing approval of a man πλήρη δὲ γώσεως καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοσύνης.

[34] cf. my article Vigiliae Christ. June 1955, vol. IX, nr. 3,

[35] str. 7, 13, 3 ναὶ μὴν ἑαυτὸν κτίζει καὶ δημιουργεῖ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίοντας αὐτοῦ κοσμεῖ ἐξομοιούμενος θεῷ ὁ γνωστικός . . . str. 7, 77, 5 καίτοι ἕκαστος ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ τε ἀμπελὼν καὶ ἐργάτης. str. 7, 83, 2 γυμνάζων ἑαυτὸν διὰ τῶν ἐντολῶν, ἵνα καὶ πρὸς τὸν κύριον εὐάρεστος ἐν πᾶσιν γένηται; . . .

[36] e.g. str. 7, 101, 4 οὕτως ὁ τῷ κυρίῳ πειθόμενος . . . τελέως ἐκτελεῖται κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ διδασκάλου ἐν σαρκὶ περιπολῶν θεός.

[37] Jaeger, Paideia II, 242, cf. 288; 296 and Festugière o.c. 327. Cf. str. 7, 46, 9; 88, 4; 10, 1; 4, 138, 1.

[38] Völker 288: "Wie häufig erwähnt er dass wir μαθήσει καὶ ἀσκήσει zur Tugend gelangen!". Cf. o.c. 280; 289.

[39] str. 7, 48, 6.

to *ὑιοθεσία* [40]. Through paideia we must renounce the *πάθη* [41]. It is well known what importance Clement attaches to apatheia: it belongs to the perfect gnostic, who by means of it imitates God. In str. 6, 96, 4 the subject is the attainment of the aretè. Then it remains still difficult to gain gnosis. Clement says about it: *πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ μεγέθει πασῶν μαθήσεων καὶ ἀληθείᾳ διαφέρουσα γνῶσις χαλεπωτάτη κτήσασθαι καὶ ἐν πολλῷ καματῷ περιγίνεται.* We have quoted this passage because it shows a great likeness to Plato's aims of which Jaeger observes: "In other words, between God and the human soul there is, according to Plato, a long and laborious process of perfection [42]. The human soul must be prepared in many ways and requires practice to become as good as possible: *προπαρασκευασθῆναι τοίνυν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ποικίλως ἐργασθῆναι χρή, εἰ μέλλοι ἀρίστη κατασκευάζεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ μέν ἐστι γνωστικόν, τὸ δὲ ποιητικόν* (again the twofold way!) *ἐρρύηκεν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ, δεῖται δὲ ἀσκήσεως καὶ συγγυμνασίας πολλῆς καὶ ἐμπειρίας* [43].

In this chapter [44] as well as in the previous one Clement has tried to show in great detail that a gnostic is in need of all sciences for his development and he winds up with the words: *ἐπὶ πᾶσιν εἰδέναι αὐτοὺς κἀκεῖνο ἐχρῆν, ὅτι φύσει μὲν γεγόναμεν πρὸς ἀρετήν, οὐ μὴν ὥστε ἔχειν αὐτὴν ἐκ γενετῆς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς κτήσασθαι ἐπιτήδειοι* [45]. This leads us to an other matter, in which we shall discover a striking agreement with Plato. Briefly stated it boils down to the view that man is naturally able to acquire virtue without first being in possession of virtue. This thesis enables

---

[40] str. 2, 75, 2, bearing in mind that God demands this from the ascetic.

[41] str. 6, 109, 1 sqq. Cf. 4, 36, 1 *ὅτι δὲ πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν παίδευσιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνήγαγεν „μακάριοι", φησὶν, οἱ πραεῖς, ὅτι κληρονομήσονσι τὴν γῆν". πραεῖς δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τὴν ἄσπειστον μάχην τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καταπεπαυκότες θυμοῦ καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῶν τούτοις ὑποβεβλημένων εἰδῶν.* This is a striking piece of evidence that Clement's ethics in the first place aims at self-culture, rather than being directed to the outerworld, which is doubtless also implied in the Biblical quotation.

[42] Jaeger o.c. pg. 418, nt. 81.

[43] str. 6, 91, 2.

[44] str. 6, cap. 11.

[45] str. 6, 95, 5. In these chapters he defends Greek philosophy against the orthodoxastai, cf. 6, 80, 5.

Clement to answer the heretics who inquired whether Adam had been created perfect or not [46]. Well: *τέλειος κατὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν οὐκ ἐγένετο, πρὸς δὲ ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιτήδειος. διαφέρει γὰρ δή που ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν γεγονέναι ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς τὴν κτῆσιν αὐτῆς* [47]. In what follows he devotes a few more words to this theme. *Πάντες μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, πρὸς ἀρετῆς κτῆσιν πεφύκασιν, ἀλλ' ὅ μὲν μᾶλλον, ὅ δ' ἧττον πρόεισι τῇ τε μαθήσει τῇ τε ἀσκήσει, διὸ καὶ οἳ μεν ἐξήρκεσαν μέχρι τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς ...* [48] (another proof that the hexis is attainable in this life. The gnosis is the most difficult thing to reach [49]. When we hear him say: *ἔστιν γαρ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἡ γνῶσις τελείωσις τις ἀνθρώπου ὡς ἀνθρώπου* [50], we think of that important element in Plato's philosophy of which Jaeger says: "Plato's paideia is intended to develop the man in man" [51]. Clement himself quotes Plato in another passage [52]. He there discusses the thought that paideia and mathesis are the necessary conditions for the acquirement of faith and virtue. "Diese (Tugend) beruhe auf der *φύσις*, bedürfe aber der Pflege" [53]. Physis and paideia belong together: *ὅποτε καὶ οἱ κακῶς πεφυκότες πρὸς ἀρετὴν τῆς προσηκούσης παιδείας τυχόντες ὡς ἐπίπαν καλοκἀγαθίας ἤνυσαν, καὶ αὖ τὰ ἐναντία οἱ ἐπιτηδείως φύντες ἀμελείᾳ γεγόνασι κακοί. φύσει δ' αὖ κοινωνικοὺς καὶ δικαίους ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς ἐδημιούργησεν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ τὸ δίκαιον ἐκ μόνης φαίνεσθαι τῆς θέσεως ῥητέον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἀναζωπυρεῖσθαι τὸ τῆς δημιουργίας ἀγαθὸν νοητέον,*

---

[46] str. 6, 96, 1.

[47] str. 6, 96, 2.

[48] str. 6, 96, 3.

[49] str. 6, 96, 4.

[50] str. 7, 55, 1.

[51] Jaeger 353, cf. 69; 172. Cf. M. Pohlenz, Klemens von Alexandreia und sein griechisches Christentum, 1943, pg. 176 "Wie den Logos so hat Klemens auch den zweiten Eckpfeiler der griechischen und insbesondere der stoischen Philosophie, den Physisbegriff, im Gegensatz zu Philon organisch in sein theistisches Lehrgebäude einzubauen versucht. Die Physis musste zur Schöpfung des transzendenten Gottes werden; aber Klemens erkannte wenigstens die Gesetzmässigkeit des Naturgeschehens grundsätzlich an, und im griechischen Sinne suchte er auch ihren normativen Character für die Ethik festzuhalten.

[52] str. 1, 33, 4, where he quotes Rep. IV, 424a (Stählin app.).

[53] Völker 281.

μαθήσει παιδευθείσης τῆς ψυχῆς ἐθέλειν αἱρεῖσθαι τὸ κάλλιστον [54]. Völker states: "Alles komme nur darauf an diese *εὐφυία* durch sorgsame Pflege zu entwickeln, was *μαθήσει* und *ἀσκήσει* geschehe, wie Clemens in Übereinstimmung mit den Philosophen und Philo ausführt" [55]. It is still a little strange that with respect to the chapters str. 1, 34; 35 Völker does say: "Die Tendenz dieses ganzen Abschnittes ist deutlich. Für das Erlangen der Tugend sind *παιδεία* und *μάθησις* notwendige Voraussetzungen, das Gleiche trifft auch für den Glauben zu", but in the end of the note he is of opinion that: "Die wahre Meinung des Clemens wird man daher – on account of its correspondence with Greek philosophy ("Clemens stellt geflissentlich griechische Gedanken in den Vordergrund") – in ihnen nicht sehen dürfen" [56]. But why should he write them down then? A little further on Völker adds: "Wiederholt spricht er auch sonst von der mathesis und stellt sie gerne mit der askesis zu einer Formel zusammen, die fast stereotyp wiederkehrt. Sie gilt eben als Regel für den Alltag und dessen Erfordernisse, wie für das Tugendleben im besonderen, sie ist die Grundlage für das Wachsen der aretè und das Gewinnen der gnosis. Die häufige Erwähnung der paideusis gehört ebenfalls in diesem Zusammenhang; wir werden dadurch aufs neue daran erinnert dasz wir uns in griechischen Gedankengängen bewegen" [57]. "Es wäre ein methodischer Fehler", thus he concludes the debate with authors, who in his opinion lay to much stress on this Greek element, "wollte man diese Ansichten isolieren und als echt Clementinische ausgeben" [58]. In fact we may agree with Völker's assertion, that what he calls "Hilfskonstruktionen", "sofort von einer anderen Betrachtungsweise durchkreuzt werden, welche Biblischen Ursprungs ist und durch Gehorsam gegenüber der

---

[54] str. 1, 34, 4. The word *ἀναζωπυρεῖσθαι* (1, 35, 1) is derived from Plato's Rep. (VII, 527 de) according to Stählin's apparatus in str. 1, 33, 3, where it also occurs. There Clement quotes Rep. IV, 424a in support of his thesis that by *μαθήμασι* the soul is purified so that it can see the truth. In the quotation the words paideusis and paideis will be found.

[55] Völker 280.

[56] Völker 281, nt. 7.

[57] Völker 282.

[58] Völker 284.

göttlichen *ἐντολή* am besten zu charakterisieren wäre" [59]. For after all Clement lives in two worlds. But such thoughts are not isolated [60]. On the contrary: they can be anticipated. How else could a man attain to the hexis, how to perfect virtue, which brings salvation with it? They are not auxiliary constructions, but the expression of a spiritual relationship with Plato [62]. We do not at all intend to represent Clement as a Platonist, but his Christianity had best be typified by Pohlenz' word: "Greek Christianity" [63] and Harnack has formulated his opinion about Greek Christian piety in a different way! For it is true that for a gnostic the whole of life consists in keeping God's commandments, which is a dominating element in Clement's piety [64]. "Immer verlangt Gott von uns *ἔργα*, die eine notwendige Voraussetzung für unsere *σωτηρία* sind" [65] and further on: "Clemens weist mit Entschiedenheit darauf hin, dass Gott nach dem Grundsatz ver-

---

[59] Völker 284.

[60] str. 4, 63, 1 *ἀναγκαῖον οὖν σύμπαντι τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει παιδεία τε καὶ ἀρετή εἴ γε ἐπὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν σπεύδοιεν.* str. 6, 149, 5 *ἐκ ζητήσεως καὶ μαθήσεως καὶ συνασκήσεως τελείας τὸ γενέσθαι βασιλέα καρπουμένων.* cf. also the thoughts in str. 6, 17 treating the propaedeutic value of Greek philosophy. Str. 6, 152, 3 *ἔπειτα* (after having received life) *ὡς ἐνεδέχετο φύσεως ἔχειν ἕκαστον ἐγένετο τε καὶ γίνεται προκόπτον εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ ἄμεινον.* cf. 6, 154, 3 on the Greek philosophers who become gnostics: *παραδεξάμενοι δὲ τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς ἀληθείας* — so a decisive step has to be taken before the further development — *δύναμιν προσλαμβάνουσι προιέναι πρόσω ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν κἂν ἐνθένδε ἀγαπῶσι μὲν μαθητευσάμενοι, γνώσεως δὲ ὀριγνώμενοι σπεύδουσιν εἰς σωτηρίαν.* Nature serves as an example of this development: *τὴν ἄρρητον ἀγαθότητα τὴν ἑκάστοτε εἰς τὸ ἄμεινον κατὰ τὸ ἐγχωροῦν προσαγομένην τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν* (154, 1); cf. 5, 7, 2 *„χάριτι γὰρ σῳζόμεθα", οὐκ ἄνευ μέντοι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων, ἀλλὰ δεῖ μὲν πεφυκότας πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν σπουδήν τινα περιποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτό.*

Völker considers (225, nt 8) the words *οὐκ ἄνευ . . . ἔργων* as an "Erläuterenden" Zusatz. It has, however, more of polemics against St. Paul. In Eph. 2, 8; 9 e.g. is found the very opposite of his assertion.

[62] Clement is more intrinsically related to Plato than to the Stoa in spite of the frequent use of Stoic terminology and reasonings which Pohlenz has elucidated.

[63] M. Pohlenz o.c.

[64] Cf. Völker 258 sqq. cf. str. 7, 21, 1 *πίστος* is a man who keeps the commandments.

[65] Völker 254.

fährt: *δίδωσι ... ὑπερεσπουδακόσι,* oder wie es an anderer Stelle heiszt: *εἰς δὲ ἀκάθαρτον ψυχὴν θεοῦ χάρις οὐ παραδύεται*" [66].

No doubt the keeping of God's commandments belongs to a Christian life. Clement realized this clearly. But by making it the condition of grace he reverses the order of the Gospel. Against such conceptions St. Paul wrote a.o. the Epistle to the Galatians. In Clement the moral effort is a condition of salvation, in St. Paul moral effort proceeds from salvation as a task [67]. This is why Clement has no eschatological expectation [68] – though he expects heaven [69] – but not the expectation that at the end of time God will start an entirely new creation. The believers penitential

---

[66] Völker 255.

[67] Cf. F. Buri, Clemens Alexandrinus und der paulinische Freiheitsbegriff, Zürich und Leipzig 1939, pg. 82. Buri has a few more striking remarks, e.g. ... übersieht Clemens in seinem Schöpfungsoptimismus diese tragische Schränke vollständig und macht aus dem (die seit Adams Fall herrschende Sündes- und Todesordnung) woran bei Paulus gerade die Unfähigkeit zum Heil zu gelangen offenbar wird, die Grundlage einer zum Heil führenden sittlichen Entwicklung (77). Cf. E. Aleith, Paulusverständnis in der alten Kirche, Berlin, 1937 pg. 63: "Clemens sieht die Sünde nicht wie Paulus als eine dämonische Gewalt, die den Menschen wider seinen Willen zum Bösen zwingt, sondern er denkt als Griechischer Philosoph an die einzelne Tat, die der Handelnde in Unkenntniss des Guten vollbringt." Völker 141: Etwaige Ansätze zu einer Erbsündenlehre spielen bei unserm Autor jedenfalls keine Rolle und bedeuten keine Einschränkung der Willensfreiheit.

[68] In paed. 1, 28, 3 Clement gives a genuinely biblical exposition of the subject *ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν πιστευόντων ἀπόκειται τὸ τέλος* (viz. of the illumination). It consists in the reception of the promise. And then in 29, 1 a far fetched explanation is given of the *καὶ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,* depriving the concept "last day" of his biblical meaning and everything is turned over to the perfection of this life: *καθ' ὅσον μὲν οὖν δυνατὸν ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, ὃν ἐσχάτην ἡμέραν ἠνίξατο, εἰς τότε τηρουμένους ὅτε παύσεται, τελείους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι πιστεύομεν.*

This is a proof that notwithstanding Christ's pronouncement Clement did not really have an idea of what is meant by the last day. Cf. str. 7, 76, 4 *οὗτος ἐντολὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διαπραξάμενος κυριακὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ, ὅταν ἀποβάλλῃ φαῦλον νόημα καὶ γνωστικὸν προσλάβῃ, τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων.*

Here the day of the Lord is indicated as a stage in the spiritual development of the gnostic.

[69] Cf. page 240.

efforts are continued after their death [70]. Thus the souls of the believers make their way, each of them separately to heaven. This conception leads him in the neighbourhood of Plato [71], who also knows about purifications after death, after which the philosophers ascend to the abode of the gods.

We have heard Clement's lofty praise of the perfection of the gnostic. We would mention a few more instances: *ἀναμάρτητος μὲν μένει . . . καὶ, μετὰ τῶν ὁμόιων διάγει τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς τῶν ἁγίων κἂν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔτι κατεχήται* [72]. It is in accordance with a particular trend of his thought that he cannot do with less than sinlessness. Völker also states that in Clement there are pronouncements which "mehr oder weniger deutlich die Sündlosigkeit des Gnostikers auszusagen scheinen" [73]. The passage quoted seems to him to be "unmissverständlich deutlich, und dieser Satz wird gestützt durch mehrere Wendungen, die in seiner Nähe stehen. Aber man übersehe nicht", is his conclusion, "dass Clemens sich hier fast hyperbolischen Aussagen bedient um das philosophische Weisen-Porträt zu übertrumpfen". Would not Clement have had a more serious intention? Sometimes he speaks of pagan philosophy with undoubted approval, but he was convinced that Christianity could achieve what paganism was unable to accomplish. In this connection we may think of his utterance: *ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴ καταλαμβάνει ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ φιλοσοφία τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀληθείας, ἔτι δὲ ἐξασθενεῖ πράττειν τὰς κυριακὰς ἐντολάς, ἀλλ' οὖν γε προκατασκευάζει τὴν ὁδὸν τῇ βασιλικοτάτῃ διδασκαλίᾳ, ἅμῃ γε πῃ σωφρονίζουσα καὶ τὸ ἦθος προτυποῦσα καὶ προστύφουσα εἰς παραδοχὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ‹τὸν› τὴν πρόνοιαν δοξάζοντα* [74]. Then there would not be so much question of Clement formulating an ideal of which in his heart of heart he knew that it was unattainable, but he used to outbid Greek philosophy, but he would rather back this ideal himself and consider it possible to attain. Yet here and there he retracts the thought of sinlessness, as Völker explains [75]. Actual practice

---

[70] Cf. quotations in my article in Vigiliae Christianae pg. 150.

[71] Phaedo 114 sqq. Phaedr. 248c sqq.

[72] Cf. str. 7, 80, 2; 78, 5; 14, 2.

[73] Völker 541.

[74] str. 1, 80, 6.

[75] Cf. Völker 530: "Clemens selbst ist hier (on the subject of the sinless-

and the Bible, of course, had a soothening effect. In another passage perfection appears to be something relative: *πάντα δὲ ὁμοῦ τέλειος οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἀνθρωπών, ἔτι ἄνθρωπος ὤν, πλὴν μόνον ὁ δι' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπον ἐνδυσάμενος* [76]. Repeatedly one meets with the restriction: as far as it is in our power [77], in the same way as in Plato [78], who was as well compelled to take account of the hard facts of reality.

Christian life culminates in apatheia in Clement's view. One aspect of this state is sinlessness, being without passions means being without sin [79]. There is however also a great deal of ascetiscism and restraint implied in it. In the first place the body is the prison of the soul [80], it should be given only the necessary means to keep it going [81]. A gnostic also turns away from everything "was das Leben sonst verschönern und angenehm machen könnte, wie kunstvoll bereiteten Speisen, Wohlgerüchen, Blumenkranzen", to say it in Völkers words [82]. On the one hand marriage is approved of [83], on the other hand also here there should be *ἐγκράτεια* and a gnostic ought to live with his wife as with a sister [84]. Clement has not been consistent in this matter. Therefore Völker is justified in writing a chapter entitled: "Die negative Stellung zur Welt", but at the same time he finds copious material for a chapter: "Die positive Stellung zur Welt". Complete rejection of all that is earthly is difficult even on theoretical grounds alone to Plato, as the idea always shines through matter, but it is perfectly impracticable to a Christian to whom the cosmos is God's creation,

---

ness) nicht über ein Schwanken hinausgekommen, denn in anderen Abschnitten lehnt er ein Freisein von Sünden nicht ohne Entschiedenheit ab".

[76] str. 4, 130, 2.

[77] str. 4, 171, 4; 7, 47, 4; 7, 16, 6; 2, 97, 1; paed. 1 29 1; protr. 86 1.

[78] e.g. Phaedo 64e, 67a, 107c.

[79] str. 7 14, 2 *τὰ μὲν πάθη ἀποτιθεμένους, ἀναμαρτήτους δὲ γινομένους.*

[80] str. 4, 12, 5. A variation on the Platonic *σῶμα — σῆμα* is the *σῶμα — τάφος* str. 3, 77, 3 (Völker 209).

[81] str. 6, 75, 3; cf. Phaedo 66b sqq., especially 67a.

[82] str. 7, 63, 3 (Völker 189, nt. 6). Völker also quotes (pg. 189) str. 7, 78, 3: *οὐ γεύεται τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ καλῶν.*

[83] Völker 200.

[84] str. 6, 100, 2. Sarah did not laugh from unbelief, but from shame because of the *ὁμιλία* which would make her mother (6, 101, 1), cf. 4, 116.

so that also Clement sometimes breaks loose into praise of the Creator whom he loves in His creatures [85].

Yet the tendencies to avoid the world dominate his work. This is due to the fact that he wants to live on earth already as if he were in heaven, his most ardent desire. All kinds of investigators [86], and recently Völker and Pohlenz, point to Clement's use of Stoic terminology. Especially Pohlenz has pointed to all kinds of correspondence with the Stoa. Völker is of opinion that here and there Clement wants to outbid the Stoa [87], which can only be meaningful if Clement thought that the Stoa was very valuable. Yet Völker warns us not to overrate the influence of the Stoa and approvingly quotes Patrick [88], whose judgment is as follows: "Clement's conception .... differs from the Stoic conception .... in respect of the goal of assimilation to God with the immediate vision of Him". The ground of Clement's apatheia we find e.g. in the prosehymn, as it might be called, in the sixth book of the Stromateis [89]. We will quote some typical passages. A gnostic only knows the *πάθη* necessary for the maintenance of the body: *Τοιοῦτος γὰρ ὁ γνωστικός, ὡς μόνος τοῖς διὰ τὴν ‹δια›μονὴν τοῦ σώματος γινομένοις πάθεσι περιπίπτειν οἷον πείνῃ, δίψῃ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις* [90]. In the Redeemer's case this was even out of the question: He only took food to prove that he possessed a body [91]: He was *ἁπαξαπλῶς ἀπαθὴς*. Owing to the Lord's instruction the apostles did not admit the so-called *ἀγαθὰ τῶν παθητικῶν κινημάτων*. Neither have those *ἀγαθὰ* a place in the gnostic. Clement elaborates this theme for a gnostic: *οὔτε θαρσεῖν ἔχει (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν δεινοῖς γίνεται, μηδὲν δεινὸν ἡγούμενος τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ, οὐδὲ ἀποστῆσαι τι καὶ ‹ἄνευ› τούτου αὐτὸν τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀγάπης δύναται› οὔτε*

[85] A great many data in Völker 197 sqq.

[86] Völker 524 sqq.

[87] Völker 529: "aber man beachte dass Clemens sich eigentlich nur hier" (also rejecting the *παθητικὰ ἀγαθά*) so schroff ausdrückt, wo er den stoischen Weisen übertrümpfen will" ....

[88] J. Patrick, Clement of Alexandria, pg. 164, Völker 533.

[89] str. 6, 71–80.

[90] str. 6, 71, 1.

[91] str. 6, 71, 2: The Lord, *εἰς ὃν οὐδὲν παρεισδύεται κίνημα παθητικὸν οὔτε ἡδονή, οὐτε λύπη* Clement adds, contrary to reality.

εὐθυμίας χρεία ἐστίν (οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς λύπην ἐμπίπτει, πάντα καλῶς γίνεσθαι πεπεισμένος) οὐδὲ μὴν θυμοῦται (οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν ὅτι συγκινήσει αὐτὸν πρὸς θυμόν, ἀγαπῶντα ἀεὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ μόνῳ ὅλον τετραμμένον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν τῶν κτισμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ μεμισηκότα[92]. Various effects are then dealt with. The reason of their absence in a gnostic is the fact that he is already wrested from earthy life. An essential element is the agapè, Völker points out[93], which places a gnostic *χρόνου καὶ τόπου μη προσδεόμενον* (73, 3) in the life of heaven: *ὃ δε ἐν οἷς ἔσται δι' ἀγάπης ἤδη γενόμενος, τὴν ἐλπίδα προειληφὼς διὰ τῆς γνώσεως, οὐδὲ ὀρέγεται τινος, ἔχων ὡς οἷον τε αὐτὸ το ὀρεκτόν*[94]. It is impossible for the perfect man to rejoice in earthly trifles: *ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν ἅπαξ τελειωθέντα δὶ ἀγάπης καὶ τὴν ἀπλήρωτον τῆς θεωρίας εὐφροσύνην ἀϊδίως καὶ ἀκορέστως ἐστιώμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ χαμαζήλοις ἐτὶ τέρπεσθαι*[95]. and then the reason: *τίς γὰρ ὑπολείπεται ἔτι τούτῳ εὔλογος αἰτία ἐπὶ τὰ κοσμικὰ παλινδρομεῖν ἀγαθὰ τῷ τὸ "ἀπρόσιτον" ἀπειληφότι "φῶς"* [96]. Plato, too, knows about combating passions and if a search is made of correspondences between Clement and ancient philosophy, they can be found in Plato, notwithstanding the frequent use of Stoic technical terms, on account of the purpose of such a struggle. Killing the passions, in order to be able in perfect purity to contemplate the ideas is one of Plato's themes in his Phaedo. And when Völker rightly observes that Clement's apatheia is embedded in agapè[97] it is mutatis mutandis possible

[92] str. 6, 71, 4, cf. 76, 1 *πῶς οὖν ἔτι τούτῳ* (the gnostic) *ἀνδρείας χρεία. μὴ γινομένῳ ἐν δεινοῖς, τῷ γε μὴ παρόντι, ὅλως δὲ ἤδη συνόντι τῷ ἐραστῷ;* etc, on the superfluity of *σωφροσύνη*.

[93] Völker 533.

[94] str. 6, 73, 4.

[95] str. 6, 75, 1, cf. the feelings of the man who has left the cave of the prisoners: *Τιμαὶ δὲ καὶ ἔπαινοι εἴ τινες αὐτοῖς* (the prisoners) *ἦσαν τοτε παρ' ἀλλήλων καὶ γέρα ... δοκεῖς ἄν αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμητικῶς αὐτῶν ἔχειν ...* (Rep. IV, 516c).

[96] str. 6, 75, 2. In what follows there is a slight trait of agreement with Plato: the gnostic, although *ἀποδημῶν πρὸς τὸν κύριον δι' ἀγάπην τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν*, does not put an end to his life *(οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται αὐτῷ)*, but kills his desires. Plato speaks in the same strain (Phaedo 61d) about the unlawfullness of suicide, even though the philosopher would prefer to remove to the better regions.

[97] Völker 533; 539.

to find something similar in Plato, in whom the struggle against the passions proceeds from his longing for the realm of ideas. Mutatis mutandis, and the change is of such magnitude that the difference is greater than the similarity, as Clement's longing is directed towards a personal God on whose promise he relies and the contents of whose promise is exactly heavenly life [98]. But here, too, Jaeger's thesis holds: "The Churchfathers employ the concepts of Plato". Clement explicitly quotes with agreement in a chapter devoted to the struggle against the passions a.o. Plato's word that the passions nail the soul to the body [99]. And when he asserts that in contradistinction to the body *τέταται δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, ἥ γε διὰ φιλοσοφίας τῆς ἀληθοῦς παιδευομένη, πρός ‹τε› τοὺς ἄνω σπεύδει συγγενεῖς, ἀποστραφεῖσα τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμιῶν* [100]. Such a pronouncement has a Platonic flavour in its various elements and might be compared with Phaedo 82b: *εἰς δέ γε θεῶν γένος μὴ φιλοσοφήσαντι καὶ παντελῶς καθαρῷ ἀπιόντι οὐ θέμις ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ φιλομαθεῖ. Ἀλλὰ τούτων ἕνεκα οἱ ὀρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦντες ἀπέχονται τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἐπιθυμιῶν ἁπασῶν . . .* If only we do not forget that Clement is thinking of a personal God whom he knows from the Bible, in "philosophy" he thought of the spiritual study of the Bible, and in the *ἄνω συγγενεῖς* he thought of the angels and the inhabitants of heaven.

The apatheia brings us in touch with an other concept, viz. that of *ὁμοίωσις* [101], which is of Platonic origin. "Plato's new philosophical paideia in the Republic sets up divine Good as the perfect paradigma. And thus the great saying in Theaetetus, that the philosophers life according to aretè is assimilation to God, becomes the noblest expression of Plato's paideia" [102], and "If

[98] str. 6, 77. 1.

[99] str. 2, 108, 2, cf. Phaedo 83d.

[100] str. 4, 9, 5, cf. 4, 15, 5 turning away from the earthly world *ἕνεκεν τοῦ φίλον γενέσθαι τῷ θεῷ*. Also the well known passage in Theaetetos (176 ab) might be referred to.

[101] ."diese *(ἀπάθεία)* wird besonderes gerne mit der *ἐξομοίωσις πρὸς τὸν θεόν* in Verbindung gebracht". (Völker 584).

[102] Jaeger II, pg. 287; 288; 296 and Festugière 127: Que Dieu nous paraisse donc comme la mesure souveraine de tous nos biens et non pas l'homme ainsi qu'on le prétend. Celui donc qui veut devenir cher à Dieu doit nécessairement se rendre, autant qu'il lui est possible, pareil à Dieu.

God is Good itself, then *ὁμοίωσις θεῷ* becomes the formula for attaining virtue" [103]. In Plato *ὁμοίωσις* is a little more simple than in Clement: if one wants to be good, one must mould oneself in accordance with the idea of the good. Moulding oneself in accordance with the God of the Bible is a different matter, to which the Scriptures never urges us. There is something about being equal to God in the story of the Fall. The thought of becoming like God (or the Son) is not entirely strange to Clement, though he understands by it rather the keeping of the commandments. He can, therefore, say that a gnostic can attain to *ποιότητα τινα κυριακὴν* by apatheia – one of the most important qualities of God – or by keeping the commandments. *τὸ ὕστερον οὖν ὁ γνωστικὸς ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν κατορθωμάτων μιμεῖται τὸν κύριον, εἰς ὅσον ἐφικτὸν ἀνθρώποις, ποιότητα τινα κυριακὴν λαβὼν εἰς ὁμοίωσιν θεοῦ* [104]. Gods nature can be approached e.g. and especially by enkrateia and cognate virtues: *ἀνενδεὲς μὲν γὰρ τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀπαθές, ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἐγκρατὲς κυρίως. οὐ γὰρ ὑποπίπτει πάθει ποτέ, ἵνα καὶ κρατήσῃ τοῦδε. ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα φύσις ἐμπαθὴς οὖσα ἐγκρατείας δεῖται, δι' ἧς πρὸς τὸ ὀλιγοδεὲς συνασκουμένη συνεγγίζειν πειρᾶται κατὰ διάθεσιν τῇ θείᾳ φύσει* [105]. The agreement between human and divine nature is also suggested: *νοερὸς γὰρ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ καθ' ὃ τοῦ νοῦ εἰκονισμὸς ὁρᾶται ἐν μόνῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ᾗ καὶ θεοειδὴς καὶ θεοείκελος ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ κατὰ ψυχὴν ὅ τε αὖ θεὸς ἀνθρωποειδής* [106]. Yet such a statement leaves room for an essential difference. It must therefore be doubted whether Clement really means that a man can become like God – though it remains possible that such a thought kept hovering about somewhere in his brains – and the passage quoted should not be interpreted in this spirit. For Clement explicitly states that a man cannot become like God: *οὐ γάρ, καθάπερ οἱ Στωϊκοί, ἀθέως πάνυ*

---

[103] Jaeger II, 416 nt. 49.

[104] str. 6, 150, 3. Cf. 4, 40. 1 *ὅταν τοίνυν ἐνδιατρίψῃ τῇ θεωρίᾳ, τῷ θείῳ καθαρῶς ὁμιλῶν, ὁ γνωστικῶς μετέχων τῆς ἁγίας ποιότητος, προσεχέστερον ἐν ἕξει γίνεται ταὐτότητος ἀπαθοῦς* . . . 6, 113, 3 *οὕτως* (viz. *καθαρὰν τὴν ψυχὴν φυλάττουσα) δύναμιν λαβοῦσα κυριακὴν ἡ ψυχὴ μελετᾷ εἶναι θεός;* 7, 68, 2 *ἥ τε φιλία δι' ὁμοιότητος περαίνεται* . . . 5 *πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς χωρήσασα.*

[105] str. 2, 81, 1. The *κατὰ διάθεσιν* probably refers rather to some agreement in disposition than in essence.

[106] str. 6, 72, 2, cf. 7, 101, 4; 5, 13, 2.

τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν ἀνθρώπου λέγομεν καὶ θεοῦ . . . ἀδύνατον γὰρ καὶ ἀμήχανον ὡς ὁ θεός ἐστι γενέσθαι τινὰ τέλειον [107].

Perhaps the best thing would be to represent his thought in such a way that God's and man's virtues are on different levels and that, when we use the word homoiosis, this difference in level should always be taken into account. We think we can draw the same conclusion from his comment on the text "*γίνεσθε ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν τέλειοι*". This is done *τελείως ἀφιέντες τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἀμνησικακοῦντες καὶ ἐν τῇ ἕξει τῆς ἀπαθείας καταβιοῦντες, ὡς γὰρ τέλειον φαμεν ἰατρὸν καὶ τέλειον φιλόσοφον, οὕτως, οἶμαι, καὶ τέλειον γνωστικόν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων, καίτοι μέγιστον ὄν, εἰς ὁμοιότητα θεοῦ παραλαμβάνεται* [107a], and then follows the statement quoted above, which is directed against the Stoa. Here, at least, perfection lies on the human plane. This difference would fit in with his speculation on man as *εἰκών* of the logos, who on his part is God's eikoon. In discussing the question of man being the eikoon [108] Völker points out that Clement is thinking of a conception of Plato [109].

Though the expression *ὁμοίωσις θεῷ* is of frequent occurrence, Clement revokes it again [109a], at least interprets it in such a way that its contents become entirely different from that of Plato, and he explains that a man may become equal to the didaskalos [110]. Thus, apart from the apatheia, in which man can imitate God [111], the homoiosis assumes concrete features. The earthly life of Christ becomes the great example for the formative process of the human soul in a series of virtues [112]. This conception is in accordance

---

[107] str. 7, 88, 5, cf. 6, 114, 5 *ἀσεβὴς γὰρ καὶ ἥδε ἡ ἔκδοσις, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετήν εἶναι ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ προσδοκησάντων.*

[107a] str. 7, 88, 5.

[108] o.c. 586.

[109] Rep. X, 597e sqq.

[109a] "Dabei ist es für ihn bezeichnend dass er die Nachfolge Christi fast synonym mit der Nachfolge Gottes verwendet und zwischen beiden kaum ein Unterschied macht."

[110] str. 6, 114, 5; 6, 115, 1.

[111] also in *ἀγάθοτης* str. 7, 86, 5, *εὐποιία* str. 6, 60, 3.

[112] Summaries in Völker 588; J. Meifort, Der Platonismus bei Clemens Alexandrinus, 1928, pg. 59; H. Merki, Homoiosis Theooi, 1952, pg. 75. This thought has struck deep roots in Greek Christianity, witness the novel by N. Kazantzakis, *Ὁ Χριστὸς ξαναστανρόνεται*, Christ is again crucified.

with other thoughts of Clement about the moulding of the gnostic. The virtuous life of a Christian as a whole is an imitatio Christi. In another context virtuous living was represented to us as the keeping of God's commandments, and thus it is not surprising that Clement combines "der biblische Gedanke der *ἐντολή* mit dem platonischen der *ἐξομοίωσις* [113]", notwithstanding their fundamental difference. But *τὴν μεν γὰρ ἐξομοίωσιν ὁ νόμος ἀκολουθίαν ὀνομάζει* was his opinion [114], though he probably thought something else in this words, viz. an essential change: *ὡς δὲ ἔαν πρόσσχῃ τις Ισομάχῳ, γεωργὸν αὐτὸν ποιήσει, καὶ Λάμπιδι ναύκληρον* etc., *οὕτως ὁ τῳ κυρίῳ πειθόμενος καὶ τῇ δοθείσῃ δι' αὐτοῦ κατακολουθήσας προφητείᾳ τελέως ἐκτελεῖται κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ διδασκάλου ἐν σαρκὶ περιπολῶν θεός* [115]. And, finally, this mimèsis brings about man's justification before God, especially in connection with conceptions discussed here in an earlier context: in str. 2, 80, 3 he speaks about it that anyone who possesses one virtue, possesses them all, an antique theme: *ὁ μίαν ἔχων ἀρετὴν γνωστικῶς πάσας ἔχει διὰ τὴν ἀντακολουθίαν.* The *μιμητικὴ τῆς θείας διαθεσέως δικαιοσύνη* is part of it, the whole is *ἐξομοίωσις: ἐξομοιούμενοι τῷ κυρίῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν.* This then, is *δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως γενέσθαι,* he concludes in the words of Plato [116].

Rotterdam, Statenweg 161b.

---

[113] Völker 593 nt. 1; cf. 595 "und es ist sicher nicht zufällig dass der biblische Ausdruck *ἀκολουθεῖν* durch den platonischen *ἐξομοίωσις* ersetzt wird".

[114] str. 2, 100, 4 (Völker 582).

[115] str. 7, 101, 4, *θεός* to be taken in the sense of inhabitant of heaven.

[116] Theaet. 176 ab.

REVIEWS

G. van Moorsel, *The Mysteries of Hermes Trismegistus*. Utrecht, Kemink. 1955. Pp. iv. + 135.

This "phenomenologic study in the process of spiritualization in the Corpus Hermeticum and Latin Asclepius," as it is subtitled, was the first volume published in the series *Studia Theologica Rheno-Traiectina*, and it does credit to the Theological Institute at Utrecht. Written in a clever and interesting style, it deals with the drive toward *Verinnerlichung* in Hermetism, where cultic language is used, though there is no real cultus, because of the Hermetic doctrine that the inner is the "real". "What is empirically pulled down . . . is, at the same moment, pneumatically built up again" (p. 77). At the end of the study, in which its author frequently compares the Hermetic writers with spiritualizing Christian groups, he contrasts their work with the New Testament, where a much more moderate and realistic spiritualization takes place. He suggests that they retained a kind of 'evensong' or 'matins' (p. 132); this may be so.

The only thing which does not seem quite clear is *what* the Hermetica spiritualized. Van Moorsel treats them as "semi-gnostic" (p. 21) and seems to regard them as spiritualizations of a less spiritual gnosis (pp. 36–37); he also deals with "the empiric mysteries" — "without believing, however, for a single moment in a historic-genetic dependence" (p. 84); for "things are far too spontaneous for such a dependence to be likely" (p. 84, n. 1). Perhaps it would be better to say that the origins of Hermetism are too obscure for us to discover just what they started from.

University of Chicago (Ill.) ROBERT M. GRANT

Albert Houssiau, *La christologie de saint Irénée*. Louvain, Publications universitaires, 1955. Pp. xx + 277. Frs. b. 240.

This dissertation marks a considerable advance beyond previous studies of the theology of Irenaeus, and it does so for several reasons. In the first place, Houssiau has taken full advantage of the *Lexique comparé* of the *Adversus haereses* made by B. Reynders; this is an indispensable instrument for students of Irenaeus. In the second place, he has achieved a genuinely historical treatment of his subject by viewing it in relation to Irenaeus' "problématique". He recognizes that Irenaeus provides an examination (book I) and a refutation (book II) of "gnosis falsely so-called", but also gives us a "demonstration" of Christian truth (books III–V). He shows that Irenaeus often uses previously existing arguments or literary forms and

adapts them to new situations. And he always recognizes that Irenaeus is writing polemics — primarily against the followers of Ptolemaeus but also against Marcionites and, to a lesser degree, against other gnostic teachers. Both the preciseness and the occasional apparent lack of preciseness in Irenaeus' thought are due to the fact that he is dealing primarily with the problems raised by his adversaries.

The main part of Houssiau's book is divided into two parts: "Christology and the problem of the unity of God" and "Problems specifically Christological". In the first part he describes the problems posed by the gnostic idea that the Savior came to reveal the unknown Father, and Irenaeus' answer that the novelty of Christianity was to be found in the manifestation of the Son or incarnate Logos. In his thought, Houssiau points out, there is a certain "de-eschatologization", partly because he relies so extensively on the Fourth Gospel. (This is one of many points at which Irenaeus differs from Justin.) In the second part he deals first with the heretical Christologies known to Irenaeus and then shows how he insisted, in opposition to them, on the unity of Christ ("one God, one Jesus Christ") and on the reality of his human body. Because of his historical situation Irenaeus lays much more emphasis on the Incarnation than on the Resurrection.

Especially interesting sections deal with the ways in which Irenaeus takes anti-Ebionite or anti-docetist arguments and modifies them for use against the followers of Ptolemaeus.

This is an important book for anyone concerned with gnosticism or with the development of Christian theology. It also shows how closely the two were related, and how much light can be shed on the thought of the Fathers by carefully examining that of their opponents. The method employed, and the results achieved, are admirable.

University of Chicago (Ill.) ROBERT M. GRANT

H. A. Musurillo, S. J., *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs, (Acta Alexandrinorum)*. Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1954. Pr. 35/– net.

Due to circumstances beyond the control of the editors of this journal and of the reviewer this review is published later than was their intention. Father Musurillo's work has made its way and it has found appreciation on all sides. Nor does the present reviewer disagree with this general praise. However, the fact that this discussion is written for *Vig. Chr.* will make it perhaps possible to devote more attention to one aspect of the book, *viz.* the relation between the pagan and the Christian *Acta*.

In spite of papyri and epigraphical texts, the sources for the history of the Roman provincial administration are mainly of a literary nature. Moreover, practically all of these provide a one-sided picture because they

were written from the Roman point of view. It goes without saying that all possibilities which would enable us to add to, and to modify, this one-sided picture have been greatly welcomed. These papyri which bear witness to the tension between the higher classes of the Greeks at Alexandria and the Romans have therefore been the constant object of the interest of historians, ever since their discovery (some of these already since the end of the last century). The following text, dating from the time of Trajan, is characteristic in this respect (P. Oxy. 1242): "Trajan: 'You must be eager to die, having such contempt for death as to answer even me with insolence'. Hermaiscus said: 'Why, it grieves us to see your Privy Council filled with impious Jews'. Caesar said: 'This is the second time I am telling you, Hermaiscus: you are answering me insolently, taking advantage of your birth'. Hermaiscus said: 'What do you mean, I answer you insolently, greatest emperor? Explain this to me'. Caesar said: 'Pretending that my Council is filled with Jews'. Hermaiscus: 'So then, the word "Jew" is offensive to you? In that case you rather ought to help your own people and not play the advocate for the impious Jews". This quotation shows already that it is misleading to speak here of Acta *Martyrum*. The term was first coined for these papyri of the first and second centuries A.D. by Wilamowitz (GGA, 1890, 690) and A. Bauer (APF, 1, 1901, 29), and it is certain not to be abolished now that Musurillo's study—which is bound to be definitive for the time being—uses the same terminology. Of course, there exists a formal relationship between the Acts of the Christian martyrs and this pamphlet-literature, in which representatives of the free Greek citizenry resist the Roman power. Perhaps the main reason why modern scholars assumed a relationship between the pagan and the Christian Acts was due to their using elements from the various protocols extant in the documentary papyri. In how far actual litigation lies at the base of these texts will have to be studied for each case separately. So far, the final result of these investigations has been a *non liquet*. However, there exists a general agreement that the authors of the *Acta* are also influenced by what they had previously known to be a successful mode of literary expression, *viz.* the mime and the novel (see p. 248). But even when we concede all this, it still remains regrettable that the book under review was given the title of 'Acts of the Pagan Martyrs'. In connection with these representatives of a political opposition one looks in vain for the words *μάρτυς, μαρτυρέω, μαρτυρία, μαρτύριον*, and one has to agree with Strathmann: "Sofern es sich in diesen Texten um Männer handelt, die für ihre furchtlos bekundete Überzeugung sterben, kann man von einer *formalen* Verwandtschaft zur christl. *Anschauung* vom Märtyrer reden. Für die Geschichte des Märtyrer*begriffes* geben sie dgg nichts aus" (ThWNT IV, 1943, 484, note 23). Father Musurillo definitely does not belong to those scholars who would consider both types of *Acta* at a par without more, as is shown by his statement: "Even to the most biased scholar it must appear that to find actual parallels between the pagan and Christian martyr acts is difficult, if not impossible" (p. 262). However, on the other hand he says of the word 'martyr' that it "has also been

extended to those who have given their lives for an idea or an ideal". This is correct in itself, but he will not find any proof for its use in the papyri which he has called with their customary but misleading name 'martyr acts'! For this reason there are hardly any grounds for his conclusion: "And it is in this wider sense that I propose for the sake of convenience to use it". The strongly political element and especially the heavily anti-Jewish tendencies of the *Acta Alexandrinorum* are not brought out when they are called 'martyr acts' without any further qualification. Even the connection with other well-known pagan martyrs, especially the Stoics, is hardly present for these Alexandrian politicians. It is only rarely—at least in these fragments—that a note is struck which rises above local, Alexandrian, interests (P. Oxy. 2177, in which the emperor asks: "Is it true that the Athenians have the same laws as the Alexandrians?" Athenodorus: "It is, and they are stronger than all other laws, having a happy admixture of clemency". It is characteristic, however, that the praise of the Athenian laws is merely the consequence of an interested question put by the emperor. The author does not suggest that Athenodorus becomes a martyr because he obeys to these lofty laws.

Quite rightly Musurillo has not restricted his choice to those pieces which undoubtedly belong to the *Acta*. Only new finds will enable us to determine whether among the "dubious and unidentified fragments" (XII–XXI) there are pieces which actually belong to the *Acta*-literature; as to the other eleven texts I share Musurillo's doubts (p. 144) concerning the relationship of the so-called *acta Diogenis* (V) to this genre. As regards PSI 1160, the *Boule Papyrus*, these doubts have become certainty (see now E. G. Turner in JRS, XLV, 1955, p. 119f.).

Great care has been spent on the Greek text, for which the author has been able to profit continuously from the highly expert advice of Roberts. Occasionally, however, he has been in my opinion too readily inclined to uphold older readings; *e.g.* P. Oxy. 1089, 41: *νέᾳ σ[ελήνῃ]*. Nevertheless, a solid basis has been laid down for further study.

The final chapters of the book are of a more general nature. They place this type of *Acta* in a certain genre of resistance-literature. Appendix V is especially valuable, here the author rejects in particular the view of Rostovtzeff who maintained that the *Acta Alexandrinorum* had their immediate origin in Cynic inspiration. He likewise refutes von Premerstein's theory that the various fragments were part of a single work composed in the beginning of the third century (App. IV, p. 264). His own view seems to be very plausible: "The various pieces were separately composed and adapted at various dates in the first and second centuries; a good number, if not all, emanated from the same general class at Alexandria, in close association with the Hellenic clubs and perhaps the *gerousia;* various versions undoubtedly existed throughout this period and would be circulated among sympathetic friends and relatives in the *χώρα*; and finally, it is not impossible that fresh copies of some of the texts were made under the supervision of these groups some time in the early part of the third century"

(p. 274). The special value of these Appendices (pp. 235–277) lies in the admirable survey of the modern literature on the *Acta* [1]).

[1] In his commentary to the *Acta Appiani* Musurillo quotes the well-known words of the emperor Marcus (*Med.* XI, 3) on the Christians; however, he considers ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί to be a gloss (p. 216). It is rather surprising to see Eichstaedt's hypothesis (*Exercit. Anton.* III, 1821), taken up again by Haines (ed. and transl., 1916), propagated here without any further argumentation.

Leiden, De Laat de Kanterstraat 15[B] W. DEN BOER

Gregorii Nazianzeni ΣΥΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΒΙΩΝ. Carmen edidit, apparatu critico munivit, quaestiones peculiares adiecit Henricus Martinus Wehrhahn – Wiesbaden, 1953.

Das Hauptverdienst dieser im allgemeinen tüchtigen Ausgabe liegt in dem mit grosser Sachkenntnis und Genauigkeit aufgestellten Kommentar, in dem gezeigt wird, wie sehr der Nazianzener sich die *loci communes* der kynischen und stoischen Popularphilosophie angeeignet hat, und zwar durch den Schulunterricht — dass Gregorius den Kyniker Keraides, den Kleanthes und gar den Heraklit selbst gelesen haben sollte, wird vom Verfasser mit überzeugenden Argumenten bestritten.

Das Gedicht ist zwar weder originell noch literarisch eine Glanzleistung, dafür aber keineswegs ohne Bedeutung für die Kenntnis der christlichen Geistesgeschichte. Der Verfasser weist in einer Schlussbemerkung mit Recht darauf hin, wie sich hier unter dem Mantel des Kynikers immer deutlicher der christliche Mönch zeigt; damit hängt wohl auch der überraschende Schluss des Gedichtes zusammen, in dem Gregorius das anfangs so stark bekämpfte Leben des Weltfreudigen, allerdings als ein im Vergleich zu der *vita spiritualis* niedrigeres Dasein, gelten lässt; den Grund dieser Wendung darf man wohl in dem Einfluss der kirchlichen Einteilung in Laien und Geistliche erblicken. Über die geistesgeschichtliche Seite des Gedichtes hätte man gern etwas mehr gehört, aber der Verfasser hat sich zunächst die philologische Erläuterung desselben zum Ziel gesetzt, und diese ist ihm ohne Zweifel ausgezeichnet gelungen.

Rotterdam, Statenweg 161b J. WYTZES

C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon.* Cambridge, University Press, 1957. Pp. xiii + 170. 21 s.

This volume is the first in a new series, *The Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary*, edited by its author, whose philological interests and ability are conspicuous here. He says that linguistic and historical studies provide

a foundation which needs continual re-examination, and that they exist for the sake of the superstructure, the theological and religious content of the books and the life and worship of Christian communities in which they were used. But readers who expect to pass quickly beyond philology will be disappointed. A great deal of attention is paid to the possible meanings of the key terms employed in Colossians, and it might be said that this emphasis provides the principal, and considerable, merit of the commentary. As a result, the problematic nature of much of the terminology used in Colossians, whether by Paul or by his opponents, becomes evident.

The introduction deals with three subjects: (1) "the religious thought" (*not* "theology") of Colossians and Philemon; (2) the historical circumstances of both; and (3) a general description of the textual criticism of the Pauline epistles (by J. N. Sanders). All three are dealt with adequately, though perhaps not as fully as one might wish. Paul remains at Rome to write the letters. Discursive notes at the end deal with "Christian greetings in letters", the term apostle, words used for religious knowledge (a carefully qualified statement is made about gnosis), pleroma (maturity [?]), and the reflexive pronoun. Some of these might better have been placed in the commentary itself.

English readers will find this commentary sober and sensible; alternative views are carefully discussed; but sometimes one feels that the author's distinctions between probabilities and possibilities are less "objective" than they look.

ROBERT M. GRANT

BOOKS RECEIVED

(The inclusion of a book in this list, which contains the titles of all books received by the editors, does not guarantee its subsequent review).

Lucia Guerrini, Le stoffe copte del Museo Archeologico di Firenze (Antica collezione). Roma, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1957. 108 pp. XL plates. Pr. L. 3500.

Synopsis Scriptorum Ecclesiae Antiquae ab A.D. 60 ad A.D. 460. Editions Willy Rousseau, 45, Rue Edouard Michiels, Uccle (Belgique).

Veritatem in Caritate, 1957–1958, I–II.